ALLNUTT OF DELHI

A MEMOIR

C. H. MARTIN

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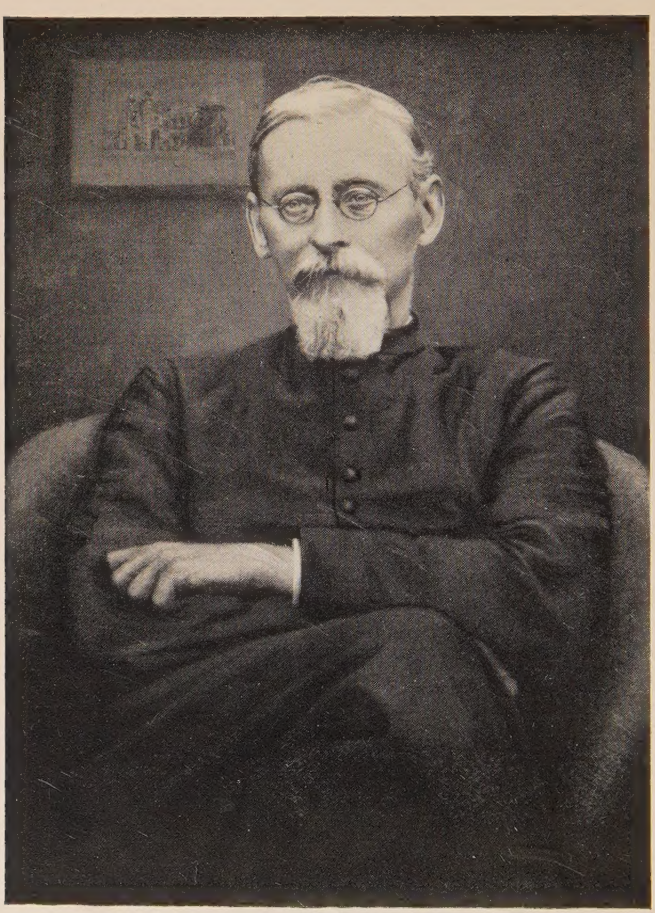

SAMUEL SCOTT ALLNUTT IN LATER LIFE

FROM A PORTRAIT BY A. DAVIES

Frontispiece

ALLNUTT OF DELHI

A MEMOIR

BY

CECIL H. MARTIN

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE

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TO THE
PROFESSORS, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS,
PAST AND PRESENT,
OF ST. STEPHEN'S COLLEGE, DELHI
I DEDICATE
THIS MEMOIR

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PREFACE

SAMUEL SCOTT ALLNUTT, the subject of this memoir, once remarked to my father, in reply to the suggestion that he would soon be thinking of getting married: 'No, I'm married to India.'

That reply may be truly said to strike the note of Allnutt's life, for he went out to India in 1879 and he continued there in his work as a member of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi until his death in 1917.

And if mutual love is a proof of a happy marriage, a happy marriage it was.

How he loved India and how his Indian friends loved him, these pages will show.

I shall not apologize for this modest biography—except perhaps to the 'shade' of Allnutt himself. I can indeed imagine him saying in regard to such a matter, 'It is out of the question, let us hear no more about it.' But if it was put to him that some record of his life might help on the work he loved, I can equally imagine him replying, 'Well, if you really look at it in that light, perhaps I might allow it!'

So I shall assume that his spirit gives permission.

Moreover it is obvious that the humblest men being generally the best men—and Allnutt was guilelessly humble—if we listened too attentively to their objections, we should lose many of the biographies most worth having.

Two lines of thought run through these pages, viz. the work of the Mission and Allnutt's personality, and I hope that the interest in each may help the other.

In preparing this memoir I have, and I am bound to have, several classes of readers in mind. First, there are Allnutt's personal friends of his own nationality, both here and in India, including his own near relations ; then secondly, there are his hosts of Indian friends, of various classes and ages, in Delhi and elsewhere—most of the leading Indian gentlemen of Delhi were once his pupils in the school or the college ; then thirdly, there is the missionary public, not a very large one, perhaps as numbers go ; and lastly, there is the general public, some of whom I fondly hope may be 'caught' to read, mark, learn (if they only have the patience) the particulars of a life lived on lines perhaps totally new and unfamiliar to them, to be won to join the growing ranks of those who *do* believe in 'foreign missions'.

Some of Allnutt's letters are, I think, of permanent

value, both historically, and also for the discerning power with which he tracks down motives and causes to their root-foundations.

In dealing with the material at my disposal I have not gone out of my way to find faults in my subject in order to gain the credit for being an impartial biographer, for I am a strong disbeliever in the type of biography which spends time and space detailing little faults. I think that the life of a good man is one of the best 'means of grace' vouchsafed to us, and that a man at his best is always at his truest and most like his real self.

Very much of great interest has had to be omitted; and while this is always the case, it is so ten times more in these days of publishers' and printers' difficulties.

At the close of what has been to me a delightful task, I can only thank very heartily the many friends and fellow-workers of Scott Allnutt—too many to mention by name here—for notes and recollections of him, and also for the loan of his letters.

I must, however, make special mention of thanks to three members of the mission: to the Rev. N. C. Marsh, who gave me valuable help at an early stage of my labours; to the Rev. F. F. Monk, who read through the manuscripts; and particularly to the Rev. F. J. Western, Allnutt's successor and the present Head of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi, who has given me valuable help and advice.

Finally, my hearty thanks are due to Scott Allnutt's brother and sisters for the material, and for their help and sympathy and approval, without which my task would have been impossible.

CECIL H. MARTIN.

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CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	EARLY LIFE—	
	PART I. BOYHOOD AND YOUTH (1850–1873)	1
	PART II. CAMBRIDGE AND THE MISSION CALL (1873–1879) . . .	9
II.	THE FIRST YEARS IN INDIA (1879–1890)	21
III.	THE NEXT TEN YEARS (1890–1900) .	52
IV.	THE MISSIONARY AS AN EDUCATIONALIST	75
V.	THE HEADSHIP OF THE MISSION AND BROTHERHOOD (1900–1910) . .	95
VI.	THE LAST YEARS (1910–1917) . .	114
VII.	CHARACTERISTICS AND IMPRESSIONS .	140
VIII.	THE SUDDEN CALL	159
IX.	EPILOGUE	167

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Samuel Scott Allnutt in later life. From a portrait by A. Davies ... ... *Frontispiece.*

Samuel Scott Allnutt in Childhood and Youth ... ... Facing p. 8

St. Stephen's Church, Delhi ... „ p. 72

The Head of the Mission in his Study ... ... „ p. 148

ALLNUTT OF DELHI

A MEMOIR

CHAPTER I

EARLY LIFE

PART I. BOYHOOD AND YOUTH

(1850–1873)

THE first record of the subject of this memoir may be given direct from the diary of his mother.

'Samuel Scott Allnutt, born at St. George's Terrace, Brighton, 12 a.m., September 21, 1850. Baptized at the Chapel Royal January 1851.' Then follow little details dear to a mother's heart. How he knew his letters at four years old, how he had a severe illness at seven, how since then he has been growing rapidly, and 'is very ready in almost everything.'

An entry, dated Sunday, February 1858, records: 'Scottie said to me, Mama, I have been thinking this morning of that text "Come unto Me"; and I think I am one of those who may come to Jesus, and I have been matching it with that text in Isaiah lv "Incline your ear and come unto Me."'

It will be seen that the child whose life we are to trace grew up from the first in a religious atmosphere. The future missionary may also have inherited a missionary tendency from both his parents. The mother who wrote the baby record above quoted was Julia Harriet Lugger, the daughter of the Rev. Robert Lugger, who was in early life an officer in the army, but was afterwards a missionary to the North American Indians. And his father the Rev. Richard Lea Allnutt had given his life enthusiastically to missionary work, but to his great grief was invalided home after a few months in South India.[1] The little boy was known in the home circle all his life as Scott, and we will call him so for the present. Scott's grandfather on his father's side, Henry Allnutt, was a layman, the owner of paper mills near Maidstone; a very religious man, though a 'pious varier from the Church.'[2] I have heard that he used to walk up and down his garden 'praying that none of his descendants might ever miss heaven.' All the traditions of the family were strongly 'evangelical'. Scott's father never swerved from this theological standpoint through a long life of ninety-two years, sixty-nine of which were spent in the ministry. Courteous and gentle to those who differed from him, he endeavoured, though with some difficulty, to understand and sympathize with 'the other side'. In his long and useful life he won

[1] For further particulars of the Rev. R. L. Allnutt's life our readers may be referred to a memoir by his son the Rev. M. R. Allnutt, entitled *A Record of Sixty-nine Years Ministry*, S.P.C.K., 1911.

[2] In later years he returned to his allegiance to the Church and was a very devout Churchman.

many by his great earnestness and unwavering faith. Transparent sincerity shone in his face, as may be gathered from the following little incident. Once at the time of the dynamite scare, when with a smile he presented his bag to be examined at the turn-stile of one of the exhibitions, the shrewd gate-keeper passed him on unexamined with the remark, 'Your face is enough for me'. At the time of Scott's birth Mr. Allnutt was acting as curate to the Rev. H. V. Elliott of Brighton. Soon after this he became Vicar of Damerham, a lonely country parish on the borders of Wiltshire.

Here the children began to grow up. After eleven years at Damerham, at the close of which Scott's mother died, his father was offered the living of St. Stephen's Tonbridge and in 1862 the family removed there and Scott went to Tonbridge school with his brothers.

His brother Martyn, a year his junior, gives me his recollections of boyhood days, and shows Scott to have been an ordinary healthy minded English boy, always with a strong sense of humour and a type of humour which was all his own.

Though the religious instinct must have been very deep-rooted, his brother particularly remembers there was no religious 'effusion' (that indeed was never in Scott's line). His characteristic was to be very exact, precise and diligent, always with a profound sense of duty. As a boy 'he was up to all sorts of little pranks but I never knew him to say anything unkind'. One is glad to know that he was capable of occasional mischief. Once when the Archbishop of Canterbury was visiting the Vicarage for some function, during the luncheon hour Scott

appears to have slipped upstairs to the spare-room, and tried on all the Archbishop's robes! The boys had plenty of fun too during a holiday when their father had a chaplaincy on the Rhine, when they took lessons in German from the National Schoolmaster, whose report of Scott's progress was 'Sehr fleissig'.

A little recollection which Scott once told me himself suggests that he may have overgrown his strength in his schoolboy days ('They used to call me Giraffe at school' he would say). He remembers gazing dismally at the long row of empty medicine bottles on the mantelpiece, the contents of which he had consumed. About that time my father and mother invited him to Blackheath and fed him up and made him take port wine 'and that saved my life' he told me, half whimsically and half seriously.

In 1870, having gained a scholarship Scott went up to Cambridge [1] as scholar of St. John's College.

Always an important time in a young man's life it was more than ever so to Scott. Cambridge was his spiritual home. It was (to adapt Browning's words)

> Machinery just meant
> To give the soul its bent.
> Try him and turn him forth sufficiently impressed.

In his mode of thought, intellectually and spiritually, he was a son of Cambridge on its best side. Undergraduate days alone would not have sufficed to effect this

[1] His degree was second class, Classical Tripos: B.A., 1873. M.A., 1876.

deep impression, but Cambridge was practically his home for the ten years between the time he went up and his departure for India in 1879. The second section of this chapter will tell something of his life at Cambridge from 1873 to 1879.

Scott Allnutt's long correspondence with his father may be said to begin with his undergraduate days. In these letters we see reflected the keenness and wholeheartedness of the undergraduate who has thrown himself in, heart and soul, with the religious set; not that Scott ever talked religion disagreeably or forced his thoughts upon others, but in writing home to his father and his sisters he was writing to kindred spirits. In the 'seventies' young men matured rapidly, and often adopted a style which in these days would seem to us somewhat overburdened with Scriptural phrases and didactic sentences, but which was perfectly natural to them.[1] Even at this early period we find in his letters traces of his wide reading and knowledge of books generally, as well as that 'love of the truth and a student's keenness in finding it' which a friend of his later years found so characteristic of him. The little boy of eight years old who is found 'matching texts', shows in his letters as an undergraduate a mind which loves to analyse and compare and search truth to its very centre. The following words are from a letter addressed to his sister, who was at this time a schoolgirl, and they show

[1] Readers of Bishop Creighton's Life will remember his letter written somewhat in this style to the monitors of his old school when he was not much more than a boy himself. *Life*, vol. i. p. 10.

how completely the Cambridge brother was her adviser and confidant in spiritual matters—

'As I said above, any attempt to go against your nature is wrong. It is the will you must use to overcome the wrong tendencies of your nature. . . . Have you imagined your temperament, so warm, variable and impulsive, was a kind of evil nature to be crushed and done to death in some way? Away with the attempt. You cannot and you must not try to do so—strive not to *repress* God's gift of a warm hearty impulsive temperament, but to transform it into a higher gift; and be assured that as it becomes more elevated, it will become steadier and more equable. . . . *Growth* is a safer way of producing harmony than *repression*. For imagine what you would be if you were to get rid of your present nature. . . . I should call such an attempt "Spiritual banting." Think what a poor stunted creature you would be if you did succeed. . . . God grant I may have said something which may help and guide you.'

In course of time Mr. Allnutt married again and the children of the second family were at this period in the nursery. They were devoted to Scott and he to them. The nursery windows faced towards the Tonbridge station, and his sister Janet remembers how eagerly she and her brother would watch from the window when his arrival from Cambridge was expected, and how at his appearance they would run with a yell of delight to meet him, and how Scott would seize both and put one on each shoulder. He was always delightful with children, and we his cousins adored him. I rather think that on one occasion we hid his hat to prevent his leaving, and that we did really make him lose his train.

At Cambridge in his undergraduate days one of Scott's chief friends was Mr. Talbot Baines (until lately Secretary of the National Society). This was a life-long friendship.

Recalling those early days Mr. Baines says:

'To have had the close friendship of Scott Allnutt for little short of half a century is one of the greatest privileges and honours of my life. I owe its beginning to J. W. Windley, in whose rooms—flanking on one side, as Scott's did on the other, the picturesque old gateway of St. John's—I first met him in my freshman's year at that College 1870–1871. I was at once attracted to him. Exactly what it was in him that drew me then it is hard to say confidently . . . it must have been those things in his face and bearing which told of a high directness of purpose and depth of thought, together with a quick readiness of sympathy which would be likely to carry him far in a life of service and of leadership.'

Mr. Baines speaks enthusiastically of the influence of the college 'in the early seventies'. It had a great tradition of distinguished achievement alike in classics and mathematics, running Trinity very hard in the competition for Senior Wranglers and Senior Classics, and just then also the college had great successes on the river (possessing a famous stroke of the Varsity boat) and scoring such a triumph on one particular night in the May races in 73 that 'even men so little endowed with athletic prowess as Scott Allnutt and the writer of this note were caught up in the tide of universal exaltation.'

At St. John's, then, there was a considerable portion of men intending to take Holy Orders, and several with that intention were among our friends. Naturally our

talk often ran on theological subjects. Among those so discussed, e.g., were Huxley and the first chapter of Genesis, and Huxley and the Gadarene Swine—also the sacred mystery of the Atonement (and other doctrinal subjects) occupied our thoughts. . . . Scott was always glad in those days and throughout his life to learn as much as possible from the writings of learned and holy men outside the Church of England, and to dwell on the importance of the truths which were held in common by Christians of different denominations. I remember well the satisfaction as well as amusement, with which he told me how when some Low Church friend had complained to him of the 'advanced' character of the sacramental views implied by the language of some well-known hymn upon the Holy Communion, he had been able to answer that, in fact, the writer was a Protestant Nonconformist! He always hoped that I who had been brought up among religious Congregationalists would see my way to joining the Church of England as years afterwards I did.

'There was a brief period, a few years after my Cambridge time with him, when I cherished the hope that he might come to settle, for a time at any rate, in my native town of Leeds, to work on the staff of the clergy school there. But it was not to be. India was drawing him, and having once won him never let him go. But our friendship stood firm through all the years.'

Mr. Baines goes on to speak of the 'very special new link' that was set up between him and Scott in the fact that Scott 'consented by telegraph in 1892 to become Godfather to my eldest son, whose education at Repton and Balliol he followed with a most affectionate interest.'

(1) S. S. ALLNUTT WITH HIS MOTHER

(2) AS AN UNDERGRADUATE

(3) SOON AFTER ORDINATION

Scott's conscientiousness as a godparent was quite a feature in his character. It was, in his eyes, a very real and close connection, and it is one of my own recollections how often in his furloughs he would speak of his godchildren (not very many I think) and especially of this godson—the son of his old friend.

Mr. Baines tells of Scott's kindness to his godson when the latter, in the course of the war, was drafted to India: 'Yet he would hardly allow me to thank him for his kindness, which he regarded as only a fulfilment of a sacred duty.'

Another friend of college days was the Rev. A. E. Meredith, who says:

'I saw much of Allnutt during his last years at Cambridge. . . . He was full of humour, and that is really the chief thing I remember about him. . . . He was a very loveable friend, and his outlook upon life and work was quite inspiring and *sane*. I think he would always take a common sense view of things, and in an amusing way he would face difficult (intellectual) problems. I remember the way in which he related a visit he paid to Westcott at Peterborough shortly before going out to India. He sat up late with the Professor discussing, I imagine, some eastern philosophies, and the conclusion they came to was that "to be" and "not to be" were the same thing!'

PART II. CAMBRIDGE AND THE MISSION CALL (1873–1879)

ALLNUTT took his degree in 1873 and he sailed for India in 1879. The whole of these six years were

spent in Cambridge. First as resident Tutor to the handful of students in the new venture of Cavendish College, then established in two houses in Maid's Causeway; during which time he did lay work at Jesus Lane Sunday School and elsewhere. In 1875 he was ordained to the curacy of St. Andrew the Less under the Rev. E. T. Leeke. This was the Parish which contained Christ Church, Barnwell, the great ugly Church on the Newmarket Road in the midst of the Cambridge working class district. Then for a short time he was assistant curate at St. Michael's for Sunday work.

We do not gather that he was at first an outstanding figure in his undergraduate days. Professor Stanton remembers him as being keenly interested in the newly started Church Society. 'Thoughtfulness' says Dr. Stanton 'was always his distinctive characteristic.' But as time went on he must, I think, have gradually become known as a man whose intellectual powers were above the average. This would be among the set at Cambridge likeminded with himself. At any rate he seems to have commended himself to such men as Dr. Westcott, Dr. Lightfoot, and Dr. Gott of Leeds. And we shall see directly how highly his Vicar estimated his abilities. Canon Leeke's notes will tell how Scott was offered work at Leeds, an offer which seems to have been repeated—or revised—later on, judging by references in his letters to his father.

Then in 1877 he was offered the private Chaplaincy to the Bishop of London (Dr. Jackson). And there is a persistent legend that he was offered the tutorship to the sons of the Czar of Russia; one of whom would have been the late ex-Czar. Respecting this interesting offer

his brother writes: 'I have no data to go upon with regard to the offer of the tutorship to the late Czar, but my recollection is quite clear that it came to him after he had definitely given himself for missionary work in India, and that he had no second thought in the matter of his refusal.'

Canon Leeke's recollections of his former curate may be given here, even though we anticipate a little.

He writes:

'In 1875 I was losing J. D. Morrice who with his great friend A. P. Woodhouse had been doing a wonderful work in Barnwell. We were most anxious to secure a worthy successor, and Dr. Westcott, as he then was, helped us to persuade S. S. Allnutt to come in Morrice's place. Westcott thought very highly of him, too highly for our comfort; for within a few months he tried to get him away from us to help in the Leeds Clergy School, and as assistant Curate in Leeds Parish Church. Poor Allnutt was sadly distracted, he did not want to go; he was happy with us and got me to go to Westcott and beg him off—I well remember Westcott's characteristic remark when I pleaded (1) that we could not spare Allnutt (2) that he was not sufficiently trained in Parish work to help to train others—that he was only gradually beginning to adapt his language to the capacity of old women—"I do not always understand myself what I want to say and I never expect to make other people to understand."

'Allnutt was simplicity itself:—a thing wanted doing and he set himself unquestioningly to do it. I used to say to my sister who lived with me—"If Allnutt is told to go along a street, and out at the other end, and finds

the further end bricked up, he simply climbs over the wall". We all who knew him knew of his great ability, power of organization, and unselfishness. He was a real man, a real Christian. We can never be thankful enough for the example he set us. He had, along with his intense seriousness a great sense of humour I remember his rushing into my study one evening to tell me a good story—leaving the unconscious victim of it alone in his lodgings with an excuse of pressing business, the real business being that he feared he could not control his laughter unless he could pass on the story. Years afterwards in one of his furloughs, he amused a party of Barnwell friends by recounting instances to prove the keen sense of humour to be found in Delhi—"not our style of jokes but theirs, and theirs just as entertaining as ours."'

The Rev. A. P. Woodhouse, referred to at the beginning of this sketch as Scott's fellow-curate, writing to Miss Allnutt says: 'I did not make the acquaintance of your brother till 1873 after he had taken his degree; but I soon got to know him, afterwards meeting him at the Cambridge Church Society's meetings and elsewhere. . . . As fellow-curates at Barnwell our acquaintance ripened into close and intimate friendship. Besides his ordinary parochial duties he did a great deal of work on weekdays in the Albert Institute for lads . . . and on Sundays he superintended the East Road Sunday School. There were plenty of rough boys in Barnwell in those days, and both posts demanded the putting in of a great deal of patience and hard work, but Allnutt always had a very deep sense of what was required of him as a Christian Clergyman, and grudged neither

labour nor trouble in trying to do his duty. After a while he found the weekday work in Barnwell was taking up too much time from that which he had meant to devote to preparation for his future work in India; and consequently he resigned his curacy, and took only Sunday work in St. Michael's parish for his last year in England.'

The missionary call came to Scott Allnutt during the period of those four or five years of his young ordained life, but it came gradually and it is not easy to trace fully its genesis and growth. That I think is as it should be. All came quite naturally, there was no sudden dramatic moment. There would be naturally an inclination—conscious or unconscious—from his parentage, and at Cambridge he gravitated towards the missionary-minded set and came under Dr. Westcott's always inspiring influence, and he was also influenced by Bickersteth, and Bishop French. At first, as his letters to his father will show, he was by no means certain that he was being called abroad, but as time went on the call became clear. His brother does indeed say that as a little boy of ten years old Scott was always interested in India; though at first it was the Indian Civil Service that attracted him.

The following letter to his father from Cambridge, dated November 23, 1876, shows the gradual orientation of Scott's mind towards the foreign Mission Field; and it is specially interesting as showing his entire detachment, his wise caution and his vigilant guard against hurried decisions, and yet withal keeping an open mind, ready to obey whatever course seemed in the end to be pointed out by God's Providence. The immediate object of the

letter is to consult his father upon the Leeds offer which had just been made. He writes: 'A fresh call has come to me and left me in very great doubt and misgiving.' (He then explains the position at some length). 'This as nearly as I can explain is the position that at Dr. Westcott's suggestion has been offered to me. . . . This is a far greater and more important work' (than a former offer) 'all the more so as so much is informal and indefinite, to be determined therefore by the character of the worker'. . . . (Here, he weighs the 'pros' and 'cons' and then deals with question of fitness.) 'When a call comes I suppose it is very rarely a man will be able to say "I am fitted for this work, I will take it up." Certainly it is never likely I should be able to say so. But in my case I am forced to ask what means those who have thought of me have of knowing whether I am really suited. There may be some points of fitness, but I deeply feel what points of unfitness there are, especially the terrible lack of system and order in my life—a defect which I become more and more painfully conscious of as it comes home to me more. . . . I had a long talk with Dr. Westcott yesterday which did me good though it did not lead to any definite result. But what I told him then did a good deal alter his view of the case. He has himself been greatly the means of turning my thoughts of future work in another direction. His earnest advocacy of India as a field of paramount claim and interest to all those at liberty to go there, has naturally led those who feel their future career is not defined by special circumstances, to ponder over the question in reference to their own case. And during the past year the plan which Bickersteth

has returned to Cambridge to work for, and by God's help develop, has been becoming more and more the point of attraction and reflection. It has lately taken definite shape and form'. . . . (Here follow particulars of the deliberations which resulted in the choice of Delhi as a place, and the co-operation of the S.P.G. Committee.) It is impossible not to feel how wonderfully God has been directing the movement here, and now He has brought it to the issue 'Who will go for us'. Bickersteth and I have had many talks about it, and I had one very long earnest talk with Weitbrecht who has just gone as C.M.S. Missionary to the Lahore Divinity School. But though I have been very earnestly considering the matter with them, and alone, I have tried to keep very clear from the contagion of pressure and example. When once I can say from the bottom of my heart 'God has called me to go and work for Him abroad,' then I may yield myself up to any and every influence that can increase in me the true spirit of enthusiasm which such a work needs to inspire one. But till then I have felt it dangerous to be drawn into it. That is why I have never talked it over to any one except the two I have mentioned and have forborne even to write to you. And nothing fills me with greater alarm than the feeling that what seems to be the direction of unmistakable intimations is forcing the question of decision when I was hoping more time for deliberation would be allowed. Does it seem faithless to say 'I don't feel a call to either work, I won't entertain a thought of either'? And yet which to choose. . . . Assuming that it is my Master's will that one of these two works should be taken up for Him, I cannot doubt for one moment which your

counsel will incline to. But both works are so great, have such claims, are urged by such advisers here that I am at present held in suspense betwixt them.

Another letter to his father five months later (April 1877) shows that he was still undecided as to foreign work. It is to tell him of the offer of the private Chaplaincy to the Bishop of London—an offer which came, he tells us, 'on the recommendation of Dr. Lightfoot.' He says: 'My decision' (to refuse the position) 'was grounded on a conviction that I was not fitted for the post, and that I should never be able to discharge its duties in a way that would either satisfy myself or really help him. I could not see why Dr. Lightfoot was so strongly in favour of my taking it.' Then later on in the letter after referring to a 'wonderfully kind letter from the Bishop' he says: 'It (the letter) has made me very much ashamed of myself. But in one sense it overstates my position with regard to missionary work—I have an increasingly strong desire to devote myself to it—if it should be my Master's will to call me to it. But I do not consider that that call has come yet in the definite clear unmistakable way, I hope one is right in expecting it to come.' He continues to say that whatever work he does undertake it must not be anything which would unfit him for the missionary work which increasingly he is inclining towards.

In June 1877, Scott Allnutt was offered the headship of 'a Mission House or Home', in Cambridge, 'where graduates who are looking forward to missionary work . . . should live together in a free sort of Brotherhood.'

In course of time all doubts were set at rest and Scott was an accepted member of the new Cambridge Mission to Delhi. The exact date, which I cannot ascertain, is immaterial. His contemporary the Rev. A. P. Woodhouse says in his letter: 'When it was definitely settled that there should be a University Mission to Delhi, Allnutt offered himself as one of the "Brotherhood"' and this is enough for our purpose.

The particulars of the foundation of the Cambridge Mission to Delhi are so well set out in Chapter III of 'The Story of the Delhi Mission' that the briefest summary of them will be sufficient here.

The Cambridge Mission to Delhi was definitely floated in 1877; on October 30, Edward Bickersteth, accompanied by J. D. M. Murray of St. John's College, left England. In the following year Mr. Murray was invalided, and Bickersteth was alone. 'In 1878, Bickersteth was joined by the Rev. H. F. Blackett, Scholar of St. John's College, and the Rev. H. C. Carlyon, Scholar of Sydney Sussex College, and the arrival of the Rev S. S. Allnutt, also a Scholar of St. John's, and the Rev. G. A. Lefroy of Trinity College in the following year, brought the mission staff up to the number of six, as had been originally intended. After long and careful thought Delhi had been selected as the site of the mission.'

The central idea of the mission is given in the well-known words of Dr. Westcott, that 'the Universities are providentially fitted to train men who shall interpret the faith of the West to the East, and bring back to us new illustrations of the infinite and eternal Gospel.' Already in 1872 he had developed this thought in his

wonderfully prophetic sermon on The Universities in Relation to Missionary work. The definite scheme of a Cambridge Mission to Delhi was slowly and carefully worked out by Dr. French, then at Oxford, who had already seen long service as a missionary in the Punjab, and by Edward Bickersteth ; and as Professor Stanton —in close touch with the mission right through its long history—has said to me, 'Westcott sprang to French's ideas. Three people, Westcott, French, and Bickersteth, gave the mission its form and distinctive character.'

There is a regrettable hiatus in the even course of Scott's letters to his father for a period of the last months before his departure for India, but there lies before me as I write a pencil-written letter, dated 'Waterloo Station 8.30 p.m.,' and bearing the post-mark, over the old-fashioned looking dark red penny stamp of those days, 'November 5th 79.' It begins 'To the dear ones at home,' and is full of last words of comfort, full of the anguish of parting, but all about the comfort God can and will give—and containing the remark characteristic of an unselfish nature : 'I feel you have in one sense so much more to bear than I have.'

His sister Janet has told me how she remembers that in the distress of the last parting Scott could not speak, but could only point to an illuminated text which hung in the Vicarage study bearing the words 'Lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.'

And so he set sail for the country which was hence-forth to be his home.

When once he had reached India his life presented an unbroken record, except for furloughs, of work in

one single centre. We cannot tell what he might have done had he remained in England, but he could hardly have been more useful to the Church of Christ than he was in the East. But a door was closed—necessarily to a man so devoted and steady in his life work—to all home preferment. From the first, and increasingly as time went on his interests, his outlook, even his thoughts, become Indian interests and outlook and thoughts. And he was more than content that it should be so. More therefore than in some cases we need a fairly full record of his earlier days at home.

The quotation with which I conclude this chapter is from a letter to his father dated April 1875, and so belonging to this period. It is an examination of the phenomenon of Moody's wonderful success as a revivalist. It is an early example of Allnutt's characteristic determination to get to the root of things, and it is, I think, an unusually steady and mature analysis of the facts for so a young man. 'Thank you for what you have told me about Moody. Almost all who have seen him and talked to me about him corroborate what you say. But my difficulties remain. I never doubted about the reality of his work. Rather assuming the reality, I ask to what are such amazing results due? Of course the cause being necessarily complex some of its elements stand out clearly enough. The earnestness, originality, unconventionality, etc., of the man go far to explain the throngs, etc., from a human standpoint. But if the work be real the phenomenon is a spiritual one, and a few unusual qualifications won't explain it. Nor is it enough to relegate the question to the inscrutable sovereignty of God. This is simply to dismiss

the question, and I think in a most unsatisfactory manner. We are told often enough that God works by human instrumentality and that is patent enough in the present case. But what is it that specially energizes the human medium now? Is it prayer? Have they found some secret of prayer unknown to the most earnest workers in England? or have they got at some more real vital connection between prayer and work than we have? It seems to me that they certainly have; and that by eliminating all difficulties from Christian belief (as certainly Moody does not admit any) they have been enabled to give a message to those who are not in the least oppressed by intellectual difficulties and yet feel the weight of sin, and long for some simple remedy; and also to those perhaps who troubled with doubts and conflict go with a sense of relief to a man who proclaims that he sees no difficulties. "I cannot for the life of me see why people don't believe in Jesus." It may be that this is the chief secret of his power. For it is as certain that hundreds of men who believe as firmly as Moody, do not and could not speak in the way he does. He not merely says, "I see no difficulties" but "There are none". I certainly shall not rest till I have heard him.'

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST YEARS IN INDIA
(1879–1890)

OUR scene now changes to India and remains there. Allnutt arrived at Delhi in December 1879 and there he stayed until his death at the end of 1917, of course with the exception of furloughs. His letters will tell us how he gradually became accustomed to his new surroundings, and familiarized with his new work.

The reader will realize that the Cambridge Mission at the start was grafted on to the existing mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Delhi, 'whose constitution enabled an arrangement to be made whereby the nomination of the missionaries was vested in a Committee of Cambridge professors while the Society contributed grants in aid'. The S.P.G. 'welcomed the Cambridge scheme' and the arrival of the two first Cambridge men in 1877 enabled Mr. Winter, the S.P.G. missionary, who had laboured there for so many years almost single-handed, to obtain a furlough. He returned to India at the same time as Allnutt. On his arrival at Delhi Allnutt found himself one of a brotherhood of six as was mentioned in the last chapter, Bickersteth being head with Blackett and H. C. Carlyon, A. C. Maitland (not in orders) and G. A. Lefroy as the other members.

The location of the mission was determined partly by the advice of Sir Bartle Frere, also at the suggestion of Mr. Winter who heartily advocated Delhi as a fitting

centre for a University Mission. It was a large city of a population about 200,000, and, as it has been throughout its history of at least twenty-five centuries, one of the leading cities of India. The Mughal Empire had made it a centre of Muhammadan industrial and intellectual life, while it still remained, and remains to-day, a stronghold of the much enduring and slowly changing Hindu system of religion and society. The Government College at Delhi had just been closed. 'Would the Cambridge Mission fill the gap? If they would do so most of the young men of the city would pass under their influence.' This suggestion was quite in accord with what had been considered the peculiar province of a University Mission —namely, 'in addition to evangelistic labour, to afford means for the higher education of young Indian Christians, and through literary and other labours to reach the more thoughtful heathen.' [1]

The Delhi at which our young missionary arrived in 1879 must have been a very different place from the Delhi of to-day—still more different from the Delhi of to-morrow when the new city, the capital of India, shall have been completed. At the time when the mission went there, Delhi was, we are told, a backward city. The mission was going to a place then unformed from the western point of view, and as yet uninfluenced educationally and in other ways by those social reforms which were beginning to be felt in some other cities in India. And in other respects, from 1879 to 1917 is indeed a long time, quite irrespective of the influence of the great war at the end of this period. How pro-

[1] *Story of the Delhi Mission*, p. 28.

foundly the attitude of the Church especially—and in a less degree that of the world also—towards 'Foreign Missions' has altered during that period! In the eighties we were still in the days when it was not unusual at a missionary meeting for a little row of idols to be placed upon a table when the missionary spoke, and we were more or less encouraged to express contempt and hug ourselves with rather smug thoughts of our superiority. And if, in our intense respect and reverence for the religions of the non-Christian nations, we may sometimes be in danger of going too far in the other direction, it is better than the earlier fault.

Those were the days too when only the few, comparatively, knew anything about modern missions; when the average Churchman at home did not realize in the least what it meant to win a man from the religion of his fathers and his country to Christianity, though he might have realized it with a very little thought. If he gave missionary work a thought at all he summed it up in a mental picture of a white man with a *pugree* round his hat standing under a palm tree, Bible uplifted, preaching to some ten or twenty dark men squatting on the ground before him.

And though we may truthfully say this was but the idea of the ignorant, it was probably an ignorance which was very widespread. Is it quite extinct even now?

Scott's first letter after leaving England is headed 'S. S. *Bokhara*, November 9, 1879', and gives some of the usual experiences of the voyage out, telling of the Captain 'who is very neutral though quite kind, and allows us to have morning prayer daily in the saloon'; of the sceptical doctor 'who gave me a most improving

discourse on the exaggeration of missionary reports—he quite meant well', and of the learning of the language 'I have begun Hindustani . . . there will be no lack of teachers on board.' We note also the eagerness of the young missionary to begin his work at once: 'I am sorely perplexed to know what to attempt amongst the various natives on board—so far I have only essayed to converse with one, a young lad, whose face greatly took me and who seemed lonely, but he knew too little English for me to converse with him.' The home touches in this letter are as one would expect: 'At all times the "Heimweh" comes welling up, and I do not strive to repress it. It is good for me . . . that I should feel deeply how much I have lost, etc.'

The next letter is from Bombay:

'India at last, the home of so many thoughts and longings and prayers. How strangely easy it seems to realize that the country is one's home. Just a few hours acquaintance and yet it seems now as if one had known the place ever so long. The strangeness has in many ways hardly come home to us yet'. . . . Here follows a rather roseate description of his first experiences. 'It all seems like fairy land if all be forgotten save the air, the trees, the indefinable deliciousness that seems to pervade everything. And I am more tempted perhaps to dwell on this because it is so unexpected, and because I have fallen into such very delightful and only too luxurious quarters here'.

But he is eager to get on. 'I want to get on to my destination, it is better so, I think, after all, when one thinks of the work and the urgency of the call'. Another letter though written from 'Cambridge Mission

House, Delhi', December 18, only continues to describe the journey. One sentence may be possibly interesting as a survival of the past. I quote it on the chance. 'One woman I saw doing *puja* or worship to the train as we passed. This used, I have heard, to be a very common practice when railways were a novelty and unspeakable wonder to the natives.'

'December 20. I will plunge at once into the midst of things and begin by telling you about our present life and surroundings. Delhi[1] (or Dihli or Dehli or Dahli almost any way but the common way) is one of the fine walled cities, etc.' Here follows a description of the city and then of 'our bungalow' which we must pass by. 'Food arrangements are most singular, we have a man called a khansa man or caterer, who agrees to "do" for us at 1/- a day *each* and does do exceedingly well—three courses at breakfast, three or four at dinner. Our living is very simple, though it may sound otherwise when I talk so grandly of courses; but then as father has often told us, meat does not grow very big here and a chop never contains more than three or four mouthfuls. . . . My servant is a very interesting man and undoubtedly very much influenced by Christianity. It was strange to hear him singing by himself (at his work) "Oh come, all ye faithful". May God grant that nothing in our life or conversation may prove a cause of stumbling to him. . . .'

In the course of the letter is 'a sketch of our daily work as it is just now, during the cold weather. . . . At

[1] From this time forward he always spells the name of the city thus: Dehli.

5.30 or 6 I have what is called *chota-hazri* or little breakfast brought to me, in my bedroom. At 6.30 I get up. At 7.30 we have morning prayer in the Church in the city, called St. Stephen's . . . one of our number stays behind here to have prayers in the house for the Christian servants and boys—this being attended with catechetical instruction.'

'At 9.0 we have breakfast proper, the interval being as a rule devoted to walking or riding. At 10.0 I have my munshi or native teacher, who is with me two hours. He talks a little English but I try to do all I can in the vernacular. . . . Mr. Winter is wonderfully fluent and talks better Urdu (that is the name of the language) than he does English. I wonder if I shall in twenty years' time, should it be God's will that I should work here so long.[1] I continue my study till 2.0. At 2.30 we have half an hour set apart for quiet meditation and prayer—partly alone and partly in our chapel. This is a great refreshment. . . . At 3.0 dinner. Afterwards our leisure hour for singing, reading, etc. At 4.30 unless there is a call elsewhere we go to service and at present take a short walk at the close. . . . At 7.0 we have tea then work till 9.30 when we have a short service in chapel before separating. This enables us to get into bed before or very soon after 10 p.m. I am sure you will be glad to hear that all is managed so precisely. Our meetings for discussion of these and other arrangements have been most happy. There is such a thorough harmony and fraternal spirit though we do not always

[1] That certainly came to pass. Allnutt became exceptionally fluent in Urdu.

take the same view about these or other matters. So far our Rule of Life is to my mind most satisfactory being strict and yet most sensible, I trust, and free in those matters for which it is not right to draw up hard and fast rules. . . . I feel my home letters to be a most sacred duty, for it is almost the only means I have of proving to you so far as I can that I do strive to appreciate the tender love and sympathy which do so cheer and strengthen me even while I am humbled by it.'

In the following letter we find the first reference to the teaching work which looms so large in Allnutt's missionary career. It is sufficient at this point to note the fact, and to note also from references in some of his own letters and from the reminiscences of friends how soon he became an authority on educational matters in Delhi and the Punjab.

March 1880. This is a joint letter home and contains all sorts of notes about his work. The letter begins by asking for medicines to be sent out and we gather incidentally how very elementary a stage the missionary medical work had reached; and we also come across the following amusing paragraph :—

' If ever I do much with these boys ' (of St. Stephen's School) ' and they may come to my care if Carlyon has to go to the hills I shall have to find out some means of conveying my medicine in a *nasty* form: esp. for boys whom one suspects of shamming (in order to get off school). Can you tell me of a quite innocent but very nasty medicine to have by me for such subjects? Black draught, I presume would speedily exorcise the disease '.

The following is interesting in view of the date when it was written :—

'Mr. Winter would not encourage a medical agency taking any very *direct means* to make medicine a pioneer for more spiritual work. To him healing *is* the direct Christian work, answering to the miraculous agencies granted to the Church in the earliest days. It thus becomes the pioneer of Christianity, by the simple force of its own power as a healing agency. I do not think it would be right to condemn this system because of its imperfection. Bishop Cotton says in one place that such agencies are in mission work what miracles were in the early Church, an evidence of a power in Christianity to humanize and improve as well as to save from the wrath to come.'

And this has an interest in view of the marvellous development of the women's work in the mission of later days; 'Almost all the really good agencies at work here reach only the *men*, the women are in a great minority. There are numbers of Christian husbands who have heathen wives—of course when this is very largely the case it must be very hard for the Christians, ignorant and degraded themselves, to separate from the idolatry and pollution of heathen society—I . . . ask you to remember this special difficulty of our work in your prayers'.

In regard to his school work as it was in the first months, he says,

'I pass on now to speak a few words about our school work. (The thermometer is at 87° in my room and I am in a bath of perspiration, hardly prepared for such heat, and yet, thank God, finding

strength to bear and in many ways to enjoy it). We begin now at 6.30 a.m. Church at 6.0. Up at 5.0. I get to bed as soon after 9 p.m. as I can. What a change in my life! The mornings are very delightful. The school work grows in interest. Though I at present give no direct Scripture teaching yet there are so many ways of introducing Christian teaching that though I look forward to the time when I shall have opportunity to give both, I am well satisfied with my present work! And though it is but few I have to deal with, yet you would not feel it is an unworthy work for one to come out here to do, if you could see what the need of high class converts is in our mission; regarding, that is, the needs of the Church here and not the moral effect on the school or (chief of all) the everlasting blessing to *one* heathen or Musalman, brought to acknowledge Christ as his Saviour. But there are other considerations also that weigh. Apart from the fact that this part of the work (school teaching) is specially ours there is urgent need for an effort to be made to improve the school as a school. The inspector's report is very discouraging and now that four or five Cambridge men are working in it we hope to be able to improve matters and get out of the inspector's bad books.'

In February 1881 he writes about the teaching work as follows: 'Yesterday saw the opening of our college. We have five boys—or young men perhaps I should say—and might of course have many more but that we decline to open our ranks to outsiders for the present. Bickersteth has handed over to me the Principalship of the school. It is indeed a responsible charge but I think it is better I should take it as I am fonder of

dealing with boys than he is, and have always expected that education would occupy a large part of my time.'

By April 1882 he is able to write of the school work as follows :—

'This week finds me in the midst of school examination work, very satisfactory as far as the results go in improved scholarship. The school is undoubtedly rising in this respect—and the addition of the College will tend to attract boys of a better class than those who usually attend our school. . . . It is easy to slip into ways of easy-going relationship and pleasantness with the boys who are becoming more and more interesting as one gets to know them better and mix more with them. It is so hard to keep always in mind the great object of all our labour, to win them not to ourselves (that is easy) but to Christ their rightful Lord.'

About the same time (writing 'in the middle of Holy Week') he says :—

'We have got exemption from school work this week for we thought as we're compelled to give so many holidays for heathen festivals, we have a right to take this week for ourselves' (which strikes one as a wise and rather neat way of turning the tables !). Though he adds : 'but it seems impossible to make quiet sometimes. Happily the warm weather gets one up early (5.30) and as our first service is not till 7 a.m. there is always time of unbroken quiet one can ensure before going out.'

The same letter tells of his first effort to preach in the vernacular, during a tour with the Bishop (Bishop French).

'The Bishop moves about somewhat as I think St. Paul must have at Athens, seeming scarcely to notice the surroundings in his earnest longing to communicate his message. . . . At his bidding I made my first most feeble attempt at bazaar preaching taking St. John vii. 37–9 as my subject. . . . The Bishop encouraged me afterwards but it is the most trying ordeal, I think, I have ever undergone—preaching one's first extempore sermon in English not excepted.'

This letter contains a reference to a 'a preaching hall which Bickersteth wants to get erected. It is of such very great importance to have a place to retire into where quiet discussion can go on—as one thinks it did in the school of one Tyrannus at Ephesus.'

There is also a note of purely missionary effort with a student.

'. . . The student I have referred to as having told us of his fixed intention to confess Christ. Perhaps it is not well to tell too much till the step is taken as so many things may happen to keep him back—like so many more of his countrymen. But enough should be said to enable one's loved ones at home to pray, knowing the circumstances. Since I last wrote he has sent word that he told his mother of his intention and she was very angry and refused to allow the Christian zenana teacher to come any more to her house. Then his brother came from Agra and he was as he says much straitened in his circumstances—not being allowed to attend Church or see the missionary. "But" he says "these trials do not discourage me I have rather learnt to grow stronger in faith and to draw closer to the Almighty Father in prayer . . . my earnest prayer is

that He will soon find out an opportunity for me in which I shall be able to profess Christ openly." They have tried to frighten him further by saying that his father here, on hearing his intention, tried to poison himself. I wrote to the C.M.S. missionary at his station and received a most satisfactory answer about him.'

The following extract (from a letter to his sister of 1880) upon holidays and the missionary's life, is very characteristic of Scott :—

' We are agreed that (health permitting) it is not necessary to go home *for health's sake* more than once in about seven years. Very often it is necessary to go to Europe earlier than that at first. For the work's sake it seems to us that one of us should go home for the summer (about six months) so as to represent the mission say every other year at home. More than this is not settled. . . . The future of a missionary must be absolutely in God's hands. I mean climate and health are such elements in his work that he cannot give any answer to the question " how long " or " when." I *trust* my life is given to the work of our Master here—but how do I know it is His will I should remain ? I wonder he ever allowed me to touch it. Can I wonder if He should stop me ? When I think of my unworthiness, Isaiah's cry is the only one that fits my case.'

I am tempted to quote for their general interest from two more letters of this period. He has been writing about the Government Chaplains and continues thus : ' As a rule the chaplains rarely go outside their ordinary duties. It is always hard enough at home to get at the upper class people, to get through the conventional outside to the real thinking feeling people within.

And it is, they urge in defence, much harder to do so out here. Our good Bishop endeavours to do so " in season and out of season " at the dinner table and in the drawing room. But I have heard those who admire and respect him most say that they fear he does harm by the introduction of religion at all times and places without regard for the character of the person addressed. For instance at the Viceroy's table he asked a lady on the other side whether it had occurred to her to think that the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ is a very severe one. Such a question leads to a dead pause which the Bishop takes advantage of to introduce a monologue on the question proposed. He did one most noble deed of Christian duty. The Viceroy though a moral man is wholly indifferent to religion and as Simla is in the Bishop's diocese he held it his duty to write to him (the Viceroy) and call on him to profess the religion of Christ. It was a faithful letter and perhaps only Bishop French could have written it, as he is so universally known to be a man of perfectly simple aim, and to live out what he preaches, if ever man did.'

The other extract gives us Allnutt's opinion of Simla Society in relationship to the Christian faith as he viewed it in 1880. He is writing to his sister (September 1880). 'The Services on Sunday are hearty—reminding one much of home times. It is I suppose one of the most intellectual congregations to be found in any country, for only heads of departments are to be found here, every one therefore is a man of more or less mark. . . . It is encouraging to see what a number of men are in the congregation here on Sunday. Many of these are more or less I expect infected by the

Gnostic tendencies of the day—but still continue their Church going as not liking altogether to break with the old traditions. . . . As a rule the ladies who profess infidelity are thoroughly worldly. It has a terribly hardening effect on women, Mrs.—whom I mentioned as one who professes to be an infidel, has become insufferably conceited and hardly behaves decently. She and her husband are here now and Simla Society has made her worse. The Viceroy has won golden opinions here. . . . He is a most rough uncouth sort of man . . . going about walking with a friend, an eyeglass in one eye, looking like some quite uncultivated servant. What people feel mostly here is that he is a real genuine man. . . . Lord Ripon's simplicity of life is a phenomenon amid all the luxury of Anglo-Indian Society.'

The year 1882 appears to close with difficulties. He writes in November: 'I fear that if I were to enlarge this letter now, it would only be to recount anxieties which crowd upon us. God grant there may be some ray of hope soon to counter-charge the darkness which seems to hang over us—in every part of our work—it is our heaviest trial.'

It may be mentioned at this point that there was at times, especially at first, a good deal of friction between Mr. Winter and the young Brotherhood of Cambridge men. This is not at all surprising—the young and the elderly cannot expect to see eye to eye. Still, the letters of the earlier period show that there were anxious moments, when it seemed doubtful if the two authorities could continue to work together. However, things seem to have come right in the end as they are bound to do between devoted Christian men as these were.

One who has known the mission from the first says: 'In any account of the Delhi Mission a great-tribute should be made to Mr. Winter's work. Circumstances had shown mistakes, and some abuses had grown up which Winter himself in course of time recognized.' An equally great tribute should be made to Mrs. Winter's work. She was a pioneer in medical work among women in this part of India.

Allnutt's correspondence may be fairly described as voluminous. Beside the regular home letters, he carried on a large and regular semi-official semi-private correspondence with officials and friends of the mission at Cambridge and elsewhere, to say nothing of other private letters to friends.

But it is with his home letters that I am chiefly concerned at the present moment.

It is difficult to realize fully the charm of these home letters, through the extracts to which usually we have to confine ourselves. A dominant characteristic of them is the readiness with which he can pass from descriptions of work and surroundings, to sympathetic and intelligent interest in the home affairs of his family little or great. He had the power of unselfish detachment. It was no forced sympathy. If his advice had been asked it was ever forthcoming in a stream of self-sacrificing thoroughness. His younger sister Janet writes: 'It was quite wonderful the way in which Scott continued to take an interest in the lives of his sisters at home, keeping in touch with all that concerned us and ever ready to give sympathy and advice.'

He had a heart large enough to be at home as well as in India. In 1884 his father was offered a country

living as a relief from the harder work of St. Stephen's Tonbridge. Scott takes the intensest interest in the matter and in a long letter upon the subject speaks of how it weighed on him with extra anxiety. 'I have hardly been able to think of anything since.'

These home letters, though often written in haste maintain a good literary level, especially when there is a subject to be threshed out or a book to be commented upon. He is ever the cautious steady Churchman, the vigilant theologian, watching, weighing, prophesying.

Two interesting letters of Allnutt's to Dr. Westcott bearing on the educational side of work belong to this period.

The subject of the first of these is the movement for a Punjab University. In great distress he unburdens himself to Dr. Westcott, in a long letter, upon the way in which the scheme and the ramifications connected with it were being managed—or mismanaged. He speaks of 'deplorable absence of wisdom'. 'There never was such a difference between theory and practice.' Allnutt's exact standpoint is not very clear even from the whole letter, but a short extract will give us an idea both of the sort of difficulties he had to face in his educational work and of how determined he was for the sake of his students to make himself cognisant with the work of education not only in his own centre but throughout the Punjab.

'So far the idea of imparting Western learning through Eastern languages and by Eastern methods has been an egregious failure. . . . Unless confession is made that as yet next to nothing has been done towards solving the problem of how to adapt Western Learning to Eastern

minds (by vernacular methods) I fear that only worse failure is in store. . . . I give you an amusing instance of the method of getting translations done. Sir W. Hamilton's Lectures on Metaphysics was the book to be translated. The translator was a man who knew no English but had the Titles of the chapters rendered to him, and then expanded them with the aid of notes to Lectures given in College—a very ingenious man doubtless . . . but this book which was of course utter nonsense—was presented to the Lieutenant-Governor at the Annual Meeting, and had his hand laid on it (with other books) according to native custom in public attestation of its merits.'

This certainly seems a remarkable way of translating a book. If methods like this obtained generally one can understand the difficulties which the Cambridge teachers had to face at this period. Allnutt adds his conviction however, that 'If the scheme is allowed to develop naturally and healthily, and really able Anglo-vernacular scholars led to give their hearty co-operation to the work, the system will in time fully justify the expectations at first raised of it'.

Early in 1882 Allnutt made a voyage to Australia to recruit after an illness and to visit a brother settled there. He writes to Dr. Westcott from the ship 'S.S. *Peshawar*, January 23—Off Galle' on his return trip. 'When I went on board the *Prince* last November, I had hardly strength to walk about the deck and now I am longing for some sort of exercise which will enable me to let off some of the energy I have been conserving on my homeward voyage.' The long letter which follows is full of vigorous thought, and we may

note in passing that Allnutt's best letters—either to his father or to others—are those written when at Simla or elsewhere on short holidays or else as under the present conditions, when his mind was free from the pressing daily duties of work. Speaking of the growth of the educational work, in connection with the college, he ventilates the possibility of 'devoting his whole time to education only' which would 'lighten the strain', but 'I feel sure you would say that for missionaries in our position to confine themselves wholly or chiefly to English education would be a most grievous mistake, and would tend to interfere very largely with our influence even with our English-speaking students.'

This leads him on to what was or becomes the main subject of the letter; the dualism, as he calls it, of his students; their unconsciousness of the essential contradiction between western science and the accretions at any rate, if not the main positions, of their Indian religions; and his anxiety that they should so distinguish between the old good elements of their faiths—however fragmentary—and the worthless later accretions, that when 'the crisis comes' they may not lose 'what is for them most precious.'

'The tenacity with which our most advanced students adhere to their faith in all its integrity is only equalled by their ignorance of its articles. Not long since I was dwelling on the great danger to which their dualism of belief (in our western science and their own credenda) must expose them: and one of them said quite naturally: "Yes, Sir, we believe what you teach us in school and what our Pundits teach us at home." My point was that this dualism could not last and that it

beloved them to consider which faith was likely to go to the wall when the dualism should become too patent and intensified to be borne. The answer seemed to show no consciousness of its existence as in any way a moral difficulty. At any rate it indicates the peculiar phase of mind and belief we have to deal with in our students, and it seems to me to require for its direction such a sympathy with their religious beliefs as can only be gained by thorough conversance with their language and literature. . . . At Delhi [1] we only at present see from time to time symptoms even of a critical spirit in regard to the later accretions of Hinduism, for which equal credence is demanded with the older elements which alone seem to possess any true spiritual truth or vitality. It seems to me right to differentiate most clearly in teaching between what we can recognize as the original deposit so to say of truth and the later additions which have so disfigured the former. For the dualism I have spoken of cannot last indefinitely, and though it may be rash to speak too decidedly, I would rather that when the crisis comes, the distinction should be felt between the new and the old, so that in the rejection of what is felt to be false, puerile, and untenable, there may not result a loss too of what is for them most precious in the truth, fragmentary and partial though it be, of the old. The natural objection to this method of course must be that there is a likelihood of the student taking his definitive "here I stand" in this citadel of Hinduism and refusing wholly to be dislodged from it. But if collaterally with the making clear the

[1] He hints that conditions are different in Bengal.

distinction spoken of we endeavour to make clear also how partial and inadequate those elements which remain are, and how the late developments in a great measure prove this inadequacy, and how the defects which have falsely been supplied by the Hindu systems are truly and fully supplied by the Gospel we announce; then we may, I think, hope that in God's good time the abandonment of the old may not, as has been so much the case in Bengal, indispose the mind for the reception of any new religious truth, but rather be found to predispose it towards faith in Him Who is the Light of the world.'

It is getting on for forty years since these words were written, and it will be interesting to workers in India to-day to compare their present experiences with those suggested by this letter.[1]

In September, 1882, Edward Bickersteth, first head of the Cambridge Mission, was invalided home. In the words of his biographer, 'Though he thrice essayed to return to Delhi, the Spirit suffered him not.' From this time till the autumn of 1885 Bickersteth kept hoping to return, but when at last the doctors were willing for him to try India again and his berth was already booked, suddenly his appointment as Bishop of Japan severed at once his official connection with the Delhi Mission.

No words could exaggerate the importance of his work in it and for it. He was from one point of view

[1] The Rev. W. E. S. Holland at a meeting in January 1920 told how in some school or college in a Mohammedan area in India only the lower stages of Biology are taught. 'We cannot take it up higher because it is inconsistent with Mohammedanism.' It would seem that in this case the dualism was only just now being realized.

its founder; he helped to give its permanent form. Especially in the inner life of the Brotherhood, in its rules and discipline and high spiritual ideal, Bickersteth's influence has been deep and lasting.

There seems to have been some considerable period after Bickersteth's resignation before another head was appointed. Both Carlyon and Allnutt were senior to Lefroy; Lefroy was felt by all and not least by these two to have special gifts for the office, but he was young. This being a trouble which usually corrects itself, Lefroy was ultimately in 1886 chosen Head of the Brotherhood, and at Mr. Winter's death in 1891 head of the whole mission. He held this position till his appointment as Bishop of Lahore in 1899. Allnutt then succeeded him and remained head of the mission till his death in 1917.

Writing to his father in September 1884, Allnutt refers to the interregnum period: 'We had so counted on his (Bickersteth's) return that we never minded being without a head practically for two years. . . . There is no choice but so to say to put the headship into commission for the time being—Carlyon being *primus inter pares* because at meetings, etc., there must be a man to the front qua precedence, etc., but otherwise we should be a body governing itself and not being governed. This is the view of the situation which commends itself to the Archdeacon [1] a man whose judgment we all of us very much trust. . . .'

The following extracts are from letters written home from 1884 to 1887 and will give us an insight into some

[1] The Ven. H. J. Matthew afterwards Bishop of Lahore from 1887.

of the varied aspects of Allnutt's life and work at this time. In the summer of 1887 he started for his furlough to England, travelling via Australia to visit his brother.

A letter of December 1884 contains some account of his pastoral work:

'Last night we had an interesting baptism of an intelligent lad about thirteen years of age, whose desire to be a Christian has been long obstructed by an elder brother who tried to prevent his baptism by engaging him to a heathen girl, meaning to consummate the marriage by heathen rites. We this time resolved to take the bull by the horns and try issues with him, especially as we had outsiders on our side who said the boy should be allowed to follow his conscience, so we baptized him and wait to see what will be the upshot of his brother's hostility.'

(Teaching in the villages).—

'The question generally turns on the nature of God, whether He can be known by us, and the need of an incarnation to show God to man and enable man to worship him with a pure heart. The latter condition they have no idea of—owing to the complete separation between worship and morality. To-day we went through all their incarnations to see whether any of them was at all adequate for its professed end; and I think some saw that there *is* a need of some truer manifestation of God than any they have in their own religion. They end however mostly by saying that their religion is good enough for *them*; we may have ours to ourselves.

'At one village a curious episode happened; an old woman "made for me" and began imprecating all manner of curses on me, ending by wiping her hands all

about me. This is their way of vicariously shifting all ills complained of on to the obnoxious person. I was too much taken aback to realize what she was after till she had her say and gone off, but it is clear she was expressing the thoughts of many of these folks who think that we English are the cause of all sorts of evil to them, forgetting how much worse their position was before we came. There is much to refresh one in the simple manner of life of these people though their ignorance is very very dense and it seems useless to hope that we can do much in a single talk to help them in their destitution. . . .

'To-day at one village I tried to show the need of an example sent from God whose steps we might follow . . . I used the illustration of the art of learning to write and showed that we must have a copy to imitate before we can know what we have to do much more how to do it. Some said we could make letters by our own wit; so I asked a shop-keeper present (an old illiterate man) if he could draw a letter when I named it. He couldn't and then when I drew it he came and tried his best to make another like it. It was interesting to see how eager he was to follow when he caught the idea; and he asked us to come every day to teach him more about the pattern. They are so childish . . . one feels all this kind of work is like scratching the soil to break up the fallow ground.'

(From another letter):

'The experiences of an Indian Missionary are varied. I have all this week been engaged in settling a breach of promise marriage case, whereof one of our Christian Masters has been guilty, and the ramifications

of which require a more legal head than mine to deal with satisfactorily. However I have done my best and am now gradually nearing the conclusion that the man is guilty. He is a good young man in many ways, but strangely weak and as so often happens obstinate, so that instead of coming to us for help he of his own accord first broke off an engagement and then when much pressure was brought to bear on him made another promise which he deliberately broke two months after when the bride's trousseau was all ready and the parents had made all other preparations.'

Segregation of Christians:

'Our plan for Segregation of Christians does not progress—so very few of our poor Christians are ready to give up any worldly advantages in order to obtain the great spiritual advantages which would come from living in a Christian way together, apart from the debasing influences of surrounding heathenism. But our real difficulty is want of funds. . . .'

In 1885 he has been examining on a large scale. 'At last my toils are over and I am free to write. It has been a wearisome business but I am glad I undertook it as it has given me an insight into the thoughts and ideas of the boys which one could not easily get otherwise. Moreover educationally speaking it is an advantage to be able to know the state of the boys in the whole province as so much criticism and suggestion falls to my lot. You would perhaps hardly believe what a character I have got for finding fault: what Weitbrecht calls a "mildly bellicose and pugnacious temper"—which the very bad and careless state of education in vogue constantly calls into exercise—I am on good terms with the

Director who generally agrees with the line I take, being a University man, and sensible withal (you will note my egotism assuming that because he is a sensible man he must agree with me, but out here one tends to get into this way). I have had to examine 650 boys in English; of these I have plucked 154 and my hard heart wishes I had plucked 150 more, for they did not deserve to pass, being very bad; but my inexperience didn't suggest the right way of weeding out till I had gone too far and then I didn't care to begin again. If I ever examine again I expect the result will be very different.'

At Simla (staying with the Archdeacon)

'I haven't seen much society here, though I came up wanting to see as much as I could. . . . The Archdeacon can't invite just one or two—he has to give big parties when he does it, as they are such big-wigs here, and would be offended otherwise. So artificial is life. He is heartily sick of Simla. . . . I go to the Lieut.-Governor's to-night but don't look for much enjoyment. Everything is so formal. . . . Every one is rejoiced at the new appointment—Lord Dufferin will do well if he avoids heroic legislation altogether and tries to draw classes and people together again.'

From time to time the Cambridge brotherhood had interesting visitors staying with them. Philips Brooks was one of those whose visit belongs to this period—'We had Philips Brooks with us for some weeks during his stay in India. If you can get a volume of his sermons do read it. They are so very fresh and full of thought. He is said to be the greatest preacher of our Church, in fame next to Liddon or Magee, and yet so

unaffected and genuinely humble. You don't feel at the time what a man you are talking to, though you do feel what a presence he has, at least 6 ft. 3 in. and large in proportion.'

As regards Philips Brooks I remember Scott telling us about that visit, and how they none of them realized his powers until some remark was made about the obscurity of the main idea of Browning's 'Saul', when Philips Brooks launched out into an eloquent and impassioned defence and analysis of the poem, and astonished them all by his ability.

Readers of Philips Brooks' Life may recall how he tells of this visit and how well he liked the Cambridge men and how much he was struck with the brotherliness of the brotherhood and indeed with the work of the mission generally.

In a letter from Rewari one of the mission outposts, August, 1886, we have notes about some of his students. 'I am staying here for a day or two. . . . Many of the students come from here and I am receiving visits from them and getting interesting talks with them.' Of one he writes: 'It is hard to realize what a process is going on in his mind. There he will be now for two months living among men who are absolutely ignorant not only of religion but of the most elementary facts of science and history,' and he has been brought into contact with all that is best and truest in science and religion. One longs to know what is the net result of such a disillusioning as his education must be.

(He notes some instances of encouragement):

'One comes every Sunday and talks for a long time. He has quite abandoned idolatry and openly says in his

home that he thinks Christianity is true. But he is very far yet from being morally convinced. Another frankly tells me that he never thought about God and sin until he came to our College, " but now is beginning to think that he ought to devote much time to the study of religion." Of another: " he has been led to desire baptism." I hope he will be persuaded to receive it in Delhi. This, should he prove a sincere and brave catechumen, will be the first direct convert of our school, and his baptism will be a great accession as he is of high caste and has much influence in the city. What I know of him does not lead me to hope that he will be very strong unless it be that he is very really " led by the Spirit " so as to have his weakness converted into holy divine power for service.'

In 1886, Allnutt writes to his father about his attacks of insomnia and sleep-walking. The incident of walking on the edge of the parapet must have made a strong impression on his fellow-workers, as several of these who have sent me reminiscences have given a graphic account of it. One of these accounts we give below. After explaining that he only mentions the matter to ask his father to consult a brain specialist at home, he gives—as was necessary of course for this purpose—a very full account of the symptoms. He says: 'I have been troubled with bad attacks of nightmare. . . . I have very seldom been able to connect these attacks with any severe stress of work, still so much is evident that the nerves must be overstrained. . . . Laterly the attacks have been more frequent and I think I ought to get advice . . . the symptoms are simple enough. I start up quite suddenly in the night under the impression

most unpleasantly vivid that I am about to be murdered. There is an almost monotonous recurrence of the same impression—under its influence I sometimes rush out of the bedroom into some other place, veranda or elsewhere as the case may be—where I generally at once recover self-control. The worst seizure was last June when I was sleeping on the roof—and suddenly leapt out of bed, and when the others thinking I should fall over the parapet seized hold of me I gave them a good deal of trouble before they could awaken me. At such a time I suffer a good deal of course from agitated nerves, but as a rule quiet down soon, and very seldom have any return of the thing in the same night. . . . What I am most inclined to do is to go to the hills for a month or two and get some change of scene and work there. . . .'

The Rev. W. S. Kelley describes this scene as follows: 'On a stifling night in June, Allnutt, Carlyon, Wright, and Haig, had their beds on the roof of the house we occupied in the early days of the Brotherhood life, outside the Morigate and near the Ridge of Mutiny fame. Suddenly they were aroused by terrible screams from Allnutt, and sat up to see him bursting through his mosquito curtains and making straight for the low parapet of the flat roof; providentially Carlyon's bed lay between him and destruction, and realizing at once the situation he dashed out and tackled Allnutt before he reached the parapet, but the pandemonium upset the nerves of all and Allnutt never again attempted a night on the roof.'

Allnutt took his first furlough home in 1887-88, starting in August and travelling via Australia to pay a visit to his brother *en route*. His departure from

India was the occasion of very spontaneous testimonials and addresses, etc., from his students and others. Here are Mr. Kelley's first-hand impressions of this event from a letter he wrote home at the time :

'On several occasions this week we have had festive meetings in honour of Allnutt, who is leaving on furlough on Monday next. He is not going straight home but to Australia first for three or four months and then on. He has been both the founder and father of the school and college here for the last eight years, so there have been several demonstrations to give him a good send-off. The first was on Wednesday evening, when the college boys (I should have written emphatically men) presented a testimonial for which they had all, Hindus and Mahomedans, subscribed. A very handsome-chased silver inkstand and also a model of the Taj at Agra, with an illuminated address. There was a very good gathering and many speeches both in English and the vernacular. Then this morning the school had a similar function and the farewells were very real and earnest, all seemed very sorry to lose him even for a time. I think I told you that Wright is to be Principal of the College and I of the school during his absence, and already people connected with that institution are beginning to salaam down to the ground, in anticipation, I suppose, of future favours.'

Writing to his father on his way to Australia (August, 1887), Allnutt gives an account of his send-off, in the course of which he says: 'I was quite overwhelmed by the evident reality of the expression of their gratitude and affection towards me. . . . The way in which they spoke showed the reality of their feeling ; all this is

very encouraging. . . . There was a great crowd at the station to see me off, much to elate if one were looking *that* way for one's reward, much to sadden when I think how little I have been able to do. . . . However all is past now and I must commit my work, poor and sin stained as it is, to the keeping of the blessed Task Master (I am using Milton's word in his second sonnet which is often in my mind) to be blessed as far as it is done according to His Will. . . . People are very very hardly persuaded that one will come back again. I have assured them that if allowed I most certainly shall do so, that I have no work as near my heart as that I have been called to do in Delhi and I trust they believe me. If I had money enough I would take a return ticket as a guarantee. . . .'

'What has encouraged me more than any of the more public expression has been the private testimony of individuals to what they have gained. It seems clear that there is a great deal working in the minds and hearts of many. One . . . has definitely given in his name as a candidate for baptism, etc.'

In the same letter he writes about his furlough: 'I have no feeling of ill-health and if furlough means that a man should first have brought himself to the verge of prostration, then I have no right to it. . . . Anyhow I can now honestly feel that my furlough is given me for change and variety in rather than cessation *from* work, though I am well aware it will be my duty to rest from the overlong tension which the daily work of a missionary involves (though this is not more than in the case of a town clergyman at home).'

This chapter may fitly close with Allnutt's first return

home. A missionary's furlough can never be entirely holiday. There are home Committees to be met, reports to be made, preaching to be undertaken and so forth; but Allnutt in his furloughs generally managed to set apart a month or two at least for complete rest. At such times his pleasures were very simple, the home circle, books, picnics, reading aloud and the like. In the summer term of 1888 he preached the University Sermon; I was a Pembroke undergraduate at the time and I remember how well the 'Dons' turned up, though there was, of course, no crowd as for a popular preacher. His text was from Judges xviii. 24: 'Ye have taken away my gods which I made and what have I more, and what is this that ye say unto me, What aileth thee?' He told me that some one on the ship on the way home suggested this text to him.

Asking him about converts I remember his reply: 'We have not many, you see it is early days yet,' and I fear that in my ignorance I felt disappointment at the answer; but I realized that the Delhi work was attracting attention as an educational mission, and receiving approval in some quarters where praise of missionary work was not frequently heard. At that time there were several very remarkable missionary meetings held under the auspices of Dr. Westcott at the Divinity School at Cambridge. Once when Westcott with enthusiastic delight presented Bishop Whipple to the audience, and another—which was, I am sure, in the summer term of 1888—when Bishop Bickersteth of Japan spoke; and when some remark of his called out an impassioned reply from Westcott—I remember the exact words 'I cannot think that we are meant to

become apologists for Christianity in the magazines, there is one unanswerable argument for Christianity, and that is its *Life*.'

CHAPTER III

THE NEXT TEN YEARS

(1890–1900)

THIS decade will bring us up to the year in which Allnutt became head of the mission, viz., 1899—a natural dividing line in his life's work.

During the greater part of this time Allnutt was deeply absorbed in his educational work as Principal of the School and College, and several of his friends have remarked that these were probably some of the happiest years of his life, and certainly they were second to none in usefulness. The next chapter will be specially devoted to Allnutt's work as an educationalist, for the present we will continue as far as possible in chronological sequence.

The reader must not forget that during this time the mission was continually growing and expanding, enlarging its coasts, and pushing out new branches in many directions. There was continual growth of the college, of the hospitals, and of the women's work generally, to mention only three instances. Christian work always grows, perhaps we may add that in the mission field it grows as quickly as help from home will allow it to do.

But the growth and the change of 'atmosphere' and the development are not always obvious through

letters, it is therefore the more necessary to keep in mind the fact of this continual change and progress. The chief events of these ten years from our point of view will be Allnutt's serious illness and his retirement from the principalship of the college in 1898, closely followed by his appointment as head of the mission. Other events connected with the mission, some of which will be referred to in the letters, will be the building of the new college and its opening in 1891; the removal of the brotherhood from the suburbs into the city in 1893; the starting of the official magazine of the mission, *The Delhi Mission News*, in 1895; and the appointment of Lefroy as Bishop of Lahore in 1899. Perhaps, I should add, though it is outside our province, Lefroy's remarkable work among Mahomedans commenced about 1890 and continued and increased in succeeding years—also the death of Mr. Winter, the old S.P.G. missionary, in 1891 which thus ended a phase and a period of the history of the mission.

Out of the letters of the earlier years of this decade one, dated April, 1891, will give a good suggestion of Allnutt's theological standpoint on the subject with which it deals. A great many of Allnutt's letters to his father are upon purely theological subjects: more often than not they are replies to questions raised by the old man in his letters to his son. The Rev. R. L. Allnutt was, as has been said, a convinced and uncompromising evangelical of the Simeon school. His son Scott's position was more or less that of the earlier tractarians, yet modified somewhat by the influences of his upbringing. It is obvious that the

two did not always agree, but each bore witness to the spiritual help of the correspondence so long carried on.

April, 1891: 'We have had Dr. Pentecost, the American evangelist, staying with us and much enjoyed his visit. He has been doing quite a remarkable work at Calcutta. Of course he is a thorough-going revivalist, but we managed to keep clear of controversy and I think he really enjoyed his visit to us. One little episode in his address to students was a little amusing. He had been saying, "I was a heathen myself until such and such a date when I became a child of God"; and as his way is he turned round to get confirmation of his assertion from the Christians sitting round. He turned, it happened, to Maitland and asked him whether he could have been a child of God before he was converted, though a baptized and confirmed person. Maitland replied and stuck to it, "You were one but you would not believe it: you would not act up to your privileges." This did not satisfy him, so he turned back again and went on. I believe Maitland's was sound theology all the same. Mr. Haslam[1] who has been here (India) has been fond of saying "I was a Hindu once myself, i.e. a High Churchman;" which has vastly pleased both non-Christian and some Christian audiences. I suppose he means he thought he could be saved by works. But I never yet met such a High Churchman, and I firmly believe such men get thoroughly deluded as to what their old beliefs were when a great crisis has come in their lives seeming to make a dividing line not merely in the experience of the

[1] A noted evangelical missioner of that time.

truth, but in the very facts of their relation to God. Have you ever known a High Churchman of real spiritual life, who, if asked whether he did not rest all his hopes for salvation on the atonement of Jesus Christ and that alone, as the *efficient cause*, would not answer with full conviction of what he meant "Yes, I do".'

July, 1891: (No time to write.)

'I should get time on Sunday, but it is a rule of the brotherhood to have no punkahs on that day[1] (to give rest to the "stranger") and I only exist. Sitting in the verandah in the hot wind which dries up the perspiration is perhaps the least unpleasant way of getting on.'

1891. 'A fakir was in Delhi a little while ago. He was staying with a rich banya (banker) who asked him what book he could recommend him for religious study. He said, "I always use the Imitation of Christ".'

October, 1892—(about the college)—

'One change of much importance to me is that I hope Kelley will shortly relieve me of the school. I must get some work taken off my hands if I am to do my duty by the college, which has now over eighty students, and though of course it will be a wrench to give up the school work yet clearly that is the part I should naturally yield to a younger man.'

Towards the end of July, 1893, Allnutt was attacked by typhoid, and this was the most severe and critical illness of his life.

The immediate cause was the insanitary condition of part of the old mission buildings in the city into which

[1] A custom afterwards wisely abandoned.

the brotherhood had moved just at that time. Allnutt hung between life and death and it was a very anxious time for his friends both at home and in India. In a letter, dated August 2, Lefroy writes to Allnutt's father in the following terms:—'Last week . . . we hoped the corner was turned . . . but last night the fever rose again. . . . The case is a very serious one and becomes, of course, more serious every day the fever is prolonged. . . . I believe the doctor fully thinks he will pull through. Should the result prove otherwise, should our Heavenly Father purpose to take him now to the rest which he certainly has earned as well as any man could, you will have heard of it long before this letter reaches you, for we shall certainly wire the news.'

On the 15th however Lefroy is able to write, 'My dear Mr. Allnutt,—It is with a heart flowing over with gratitude to God—as you will well believe—that I report the most marked progress towards recovery in Scott during the last week'. . . and a P. S. adds, '16th, 8 a.m.—Another excellent night,' etc. From this time the sick man gradually recovered and was sent as soon as possible on a voyage to Australia to recruit, for his strength had been utterly exhausted.

After six months' furlough he returned to Delhi and is permitted to do a moderate amount of work. One of his younger colleagues speaks of his reception on his return as 'almost vice-regal'. In reference to this illness, Canon Cunningham wrote to Miss Allnutt:

'When he was dying, as you may remember he was thought to be at the time, I learnt from him an object-lesson in "Holy dying" and being young and myself so full of life you can understand it was to me a revelation

of how Christianity can make a man walk triumphantly through the river.'

Of a different character, but equally sincere, are the following words from one of Allnutt's pupils (not a Christian) written at the time of his illness [1]:

'Mr. Allnutt is Mr. Allnutt. There are many a good great man in our Punjab. But even among our good and great men there are men and men, and I think it would not be too much to say that our Mr. Allnutt comes under the category of angels in human bodies. His worthy friend will, I hope, be at one with me in alleging that (as far as can be expected from a human being if such terms can be applied to a man) Mr. Allnutt is all purity, all love, all sympathy, a true Christian in heart as well as in deeds. Not only I but thousands of his friends and pupils are praying day and night for his recovery, for his welfare, and for his long life. May Lord Almighty hear our prayers and bless our dear Principal with a rapid recovery to the great joy of all his sincere friends and pupils is the prayer of

Your and his old pupil.

. . . . . .'

On his return to Delhi Allnutt writes:

March, 1894: 'Once again I am spared to write from my own room seated at my own table. How wonderful the mercies have been. What an incentive to consecrate oneself more entirely to the Master's service. . . My reception on arriving here baffles description. The platform was crowded with students, boys and young men, and it was impossible to mistake the genuine

[1] See Mission Report, 1894, p. 13.

ardour of their welcome. I send you as a memento the necklace which was thrown on my neck amid showers of rose leaves as I alighted! Quite an Eastern greeting it was. . . .

'All this makes me feel what a vantage ground we have now for pressing home the message, what a fulcrum for the lever. . . . Here we have a good deal that is specially trying. A boy of seventeen, turned out of our boarding-house for gross sin, goes over to the Mahomedans, though by birth a Christian: and knowing no more about Islám than your pony. *They*, who charge us with bribery, etc., will take any one on any pretence and have (it is said) sent him to Hyderabad on Rs. 30 a month, though he is an ignorant youth and his father a church sexton on Rs. 6 a month! Another sad disappointment is that of a Hindu who was (to judge from his letters) very near the kingdom. Well, he writes to inform me after a year's silence that he has seen the folly of his ways and finds complete satisfaction now in the *Bhagavad Gita*—with Srí Krishna for the object of his worship!

'No. 3 is a convert of twelve years ago (the one of whose baptism I gave an account at the time). He became a barrister and the world seems to have corrupted his spiritual life, for when he was about to be married he allowed his Mahomedan friends to intervene and almost compel the girl's father to break off the engagement.' (From a letter a little later describing the function of unveiling Maitland's portrait in the college), 'One of our late senior students, who has always been conspicuous for his honesty, got up and made a very remarkable statement, almost confession. He said that

the time for indifference was past. They *must* make up their minds whether to follow Christ or not. He had been at first indifferent to religion, but the teaching he had received (and he specially dwelt on dear Maitland's influence) had quite changed his whole standpoint. It seemed as if he would then and there go on to confess his allegiance to Christ. But he sat down after saying this, which he did with extreme agitation, saying he wished me to give him an opportunity to say more another time. . . .'

'My occasional paper seems to have awakened interest in England as well as out here. Stanton wrote to tell me that Bishop Selwyn had been converted by it to our educational work. . . .'

Towards the beginning of this period Allnutt embarked upon a venture, in the starting of a fortnightly paper entitled *The True Light* designed to meet the need of educated non-Christian Indians. He hoped a great deal from this experiment, but the paper only ran a short course. In the report of the following year he writes, 'The experiment of a fortnightly paper to meet the needs of the educated natives has met with a qualified success. It has, however, been sufficiently marked to encourage us to persevere for another year. . . . About 500 copies of each number were printed and circulated last year, but this was to a great extent artificial, as many missionaries and others took a good many copies to give away and the number of natives actually taking in the paper for themselves was very small.'

In the report for the following year (1892) Allnutt writes, 'I regret to have to record that my two-year-old

bantling, *The True Light*, has ceased to exist. The circulation during the second year was so much smaller that it seemed clear that its further continuance was not, therefore, justified. We do not, however, abandon all hope of making another attempt, perhaps on somewhat different lines, at some future time.' [1]

In the following letter on Hinduism we find emphasized what was a very strong point with Allnutt, viz. the importance of retaining and indeed seeking for everything that was good in the old non-Christian religions.

Allnutt was a recognized expert in this subject; indeed I heard an Indian gentleman say that in his opinion Allnutt knew more about Hinduism than any European in India.

'With Hindus, there is an increasing tendency suggested by their leaders (if the term can be allowed) to urge that until they have studied their own religion they cannot be sure whether the salvation of the Gospel is the true one for them. When one sees how many young converts are enticed back again by the specious arguments of the Aryas,[2] not indeed to the old Hinduistic faith, but to a sort of shallow hybrid compound of the Vedas and modern science, one does see the importance of getting them to know something of their own creed, even if it be only a make-believe. I have no doubt that this tendency will increase, and I cannot altogether regret it. On all sides we see an increasing

[1] *The True Light* was similar in its aim and character to *The Epiphany* of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta.

[2] A reforming Hindu sect, strongly anti-Christian, and beginning at that time to have a large influence among educated Hindus in the Punjab.

desire for religious education, and it is mainly the outcome of the agitation caused by the spread of Christianity. They are beginning to see that if they do not take care the Church will make good its claim on their children, and what more natural than that they should try to forestall this by inculcating (a thing they have never cared to do before) the tenets of their own religion. Some might be inclined to say it is too late: the light of the Gospel has made it impossible for young men to believe any longer in the absurdities of Hinduism. I do not agree with this. On the contrary before the Gospel triumphs on any large scale, I look to see a great revival of Hinduism, popular, as well as esoteric and philosophical. Secular education does not destroy the credulity of the people much less the power of Satan to deceive them. As in Bengal it no doubt makes a number of atheists, but that is largely a passing phase I think, and they now believe their unbelief was due to ignorance of their own Shastras which (they are informed) are really the source of Western science and so forth. On the whole I think we are likely to have more intelligent converts from among those who have really searched their sacred books and tried their efficacy than from those who knew nothing about them and are exposed to the taunt afterwards that they abandoned their own religion without having knowledge of its claim on their allegiance. The immense variety and complexity of Hinduism in one way makes this taunt more forcible, for suppose a convert answers "My religion was idolatrous and therefore false: so I abandoned it," he could easily be confronted with those aspects of it, which are purely philosophical, such as

the Upanishads, to which they say idolatry is only as the ladder not meant to be a *final* resting-place for the worshipper.'

From letters of 1898 we hear of translation work. 'Last week I was working as hard as ever I have in my life. I had to get out the errata-list of the Urdu Prayer Book—a job which Weitbrecht left to me. Some 200 had to be gone through. . . Now it is done and the book will soon be in the hands of the native Christians, notwithstanding its errors an immense improvement on our present book. . . . This is one of the extra things that has taken up so much time of late.'

Letters at this time also continually refer to a student very dear to Allnutt and one whom he greatly helped.

Speaking of this student, he says: 'He is so earnest about it' (i.e. the search for truth), 'that he is going to stay here during the vacation that he may go on reading with me. He is a Jain and had no faith in God at first, so it has been very elementary work so far, but in some ways more satisfactory than when the enquirer has to *unlearn* so many false ideas about God. His own great absorbing idea at present is that he must get his character changed: he feels he is bad and wants renewing. That desire is so rare, that in itself it is encouraging.'

(From a letter a month later):

'It is no intellectual process by which he is gradually feeling his way to Christ as his Saviour. I have felt lately how significant is the *order* in which we are taught to think of the three great functions, so to say, of our Lord—Prophet, Priest and King. My friend has fully grasped the first. He fully believes Christ to be the greatest teacher ever given to man, and his sincere

object now is to find in Him his Priest, his Saviour. Should he do so, as he is simple and of firm determination, he will not fail, I believe, to acknowledge Him as his Lord and Master. How far our intercourse has been blessed to this end I cannot say.' . . . (From a later letter) 'He has, I am thankful to say, witnessed boldly for Christ his Master. They took him before a meeting of Aryas and he felt, when asked if he was going to be a Christian, that it would be nothing short of apostasy to deny, so he confessed before them all. (He had hoped, you know, to be able to remain a *secret* believer till he can get his wife). I was so thankful. It was a crisis in his life and he will be really easier in his mind now. He has a very hard time of it at Lahore, beset by Aryas and all sorts of antagonists. His relatives do not in the least mind who or what can be brought to oppose so long as they can somehow prevent him becoming a Christian.'

February, 1898: 'I went to Gurgaon where our industrial school is, of which I now have charge as to its spiritual and educational affairs. Lefroy looks after its industrial part. There are now about thirty-five boys there, and I think it is doing real solid good. To match it there is the girls' industrial school, of one of whose members I sent a photo the other day. The girl's quasi-husband is in the Gurgaon School. I say quasi for we do not usually recognize such marriages [made?] as they were in mere babyhood. Of course, if they are consummated before baptism we accept them, as the Church has always done, I believe. The tone in our school seems to me to be excellent, and it is a real pleasure to go and be about amongst the boys who range from ten to

twenty years of age. Two are now independent. In time they will marry and we expect to have a small colony in time. But, of course, our plan will not really succeed unless we can send out men to take up an independent position in the world and living amongst their countrymen to show that they can be " in the world but not of it ". But at first we had better aim to develop the work naturally and simply on our own domain, which, thanks to Government, is a pretty large one. Some ten of them are confirmed and regular communicants. So you can imagine one's time is happily spent amongst them in endeavouring to get into closer spiritual touch with them and win their confidence.'

The following gives a quaint picture of the life of the poor leather workers of Delhi. The separate meals are so suggestive of Gen. xliii. (Joseph and his brethren) where ' they set on for him by himself, and for them by themselves, and for the Egyptians, which did eat with him, by themselves.'

He writes: ' The work at Kalan Masjid is very interesting just now. . . . On Sunday I was greeted with a quite unexpected display of welcome. The reader had invited me to dinner, and the people, Christian and non-Christian, thought it a suitable time to make a demonstration in my honour. On arriving at the school chapel, where service was to be held, I found it brilliantly illuminated. About 100 small chirághs or native lamps were ranged round the room, just a wick steeped in oil in an earthen saucer, but the united effect was powerful. This rather took me aback. I felt it was improper that the place where we were to worship God should all the time be lighted up in honour of a

man, and I was going as it happened to preach on the Second Lesson, Rev. V, on the honour due to the Lamb who alone was found worthy to open the seals of the book. How to proclaim this when the honour was, however, well intentioned—given to a mortal, I did not see : so I had to ask them to put out the lights during service. Their countenance fell at first, but when they saw the point they recognized, I think, that it was right, and as I told them they might light them again later on, they did so with a fair grace. . . . Afterwards I was conducted in state to the reader's house, the road thereto being gaily lighted on both sides by the inhabitants. On arrival at the house I was conducted into a gaily decorated room, of which the walls were hung with pictures of varying degrees of artistic merit—mostly " made in Germany ". I had to dine in solitary state—as is usual—though I did persuade my host to eat his dinner in the room well behind my back. After feeding, the men of the basti assembled, and we had a long palaver touching many things and I told them a good deal about village life in England. I got away about 10.30 p.m. after a very enjoyable evening.'

We are now approaching the year 1899, a very important one in the history of the mission and of the subject of this memoir.

The Rev. W. S. Kelley—a member of the brotherhood at the time—writes as follows :—

' As years went on, and the College and surrounding buildings were satisfactorily completed, while the number of students attending the courses more than doubled, and the teaching was brought to a high standard of efficiency as shown by the large percentage of passes

at the Government Examinations, Allnutt felt that the time had come when it would be better for him to resign the Principalship into younger hands, and devote himself to the study of Sanskrit with a view to develop the Hindu side of the mission work, and be free to engage in religious discussions with the Hindu Pundits, as Lefroy had been, during the last few years, developing the Mahomedan work by his wonderful meetings and debates with the maulvies in the mosques and the Bickersteth Hall.

'Allnutt's resignation of the College in 1898 was, of course, the cause of great sorrow among the students past and present, and was made the occasion for giving him numerous and valuable presents and testimonials and was a great manifestation of their affection and esteem. But the hand of the Divine Leader was shown in the wisdom of the step which Allnutt then took, as it gave him a short time of rest and preparation before he was called upon to undertake a still more arduous post. For, in 1899, Bishop Matthew, the second Bishop of Lahore, was called somewhat suddenly to his rest, and the choice of a successor in the Bishopric fell upon Lefroy, the head of the Delhi Mission, and Allnutt was then called upon to take his place in the headship at Delhi.'

This statement may be supplemented by some extracts from the *Delhi Mission News* and from Allnutt's letters.

The presentations to Allnutt on his resignation of the Principalship of the College took place in the Town Hall appropriately on the last evening of the year 1898. 'The room was full, about 300 being present, and it was a thoroughly representative gathering, some of the

old students having travelled many miles to be present at the meeting. . . . They included in their numbers Extra Assistant Commissioners, Barristers, and several holding responsible posts under Government.'

At the beginning of February came the announcement of Lefroy's appointment to succeed Bishop Matthew at Lahore.

Newspapers at first announced the appointment of the Rev. H. Whitehead, head of the Oxford Mission to Calcutta, and 'Lefroy,' says the *Delhi Mission News*, 'sent him a telegram of congratulation half-an-hour after reading the notice in the paper'—and moreover received an answer to his telegram. The authorities apparently shifted their nominees at the last moment and it was found that Dr. Whitehead was to go to Madras, and Lefroy to Lahore. 'You may imagine the revulsion of feelings caused in all our breasts by the sudden arrival about 11.30 a.m. of a confidential telegram from the Viceroy to Lefroy stating that Mr. Whitehead was appointed to Madras and urging Lefroy, in the interests of the Church in the Punjab, to accept the Bishopric of Lahore.' Here was a mingled grief and joy for the mission, grief in losing their chief and joy in finding him their Bishop.

Allnutt writes hurriedly to his father with the great news. After mentioning the particulars as given above, he says:

'. . . How the strange confusion has arisen we have yet to learn. I cannot tell you anything further at present, save that Carlyon is disinclined to take the headship, and, if he distinctly declines, it must, I suppose, go by default to me, at least for a time. I wish I had a

more true sense of a distinct *call* to such a responsible post. That if I am called by the brotherhood it will be in some sense a clear call which I cannot disobey. . . I must not doubt. But there is lacking that which I know was vouchsafed to Lefroy when we nominated him, a distinct sense that it was the work God had been fitting him for, and which, therefore, he could not refuse. Even though the two senior men had to be passed over (willing enough as you know was the case with one). Next week I shall be able, I hope, to write more composedly. *Now* one can only be full of thankfulness that one so fully qualified and manifestly called *is* chosen to take our dear Bishop's place.'

The July issue of the *Delhi Mission News* contained Lefroy's farewell letter and the news of Allnutt's appointment in his stead.

The General Correspondent writes:

'My last letter was chiefly occupied with the account of Lefroy's selection for the Bishopric, an event of all-absorbing interest to us.

'But the next step was of little less importance as it involved the question: "Who will be the head of our brotherhood in future?" Fortunately the way seemed to be made so clear that there was no jolting at all as we passed over the points; for we all recognized it as a sign of the guiding hand of God that at this juncture Allnutt should have retired from College work, and have thereby been set free from any definite post, so as to be able to undertake the labour and responsibility of the head of the brotherhood. To call in Carlyon from Rohtak, though he is the senior member of our mission, would have been to dislocate the work

of the Rohtak Branch. (The writer then describes the meeting of the brotherhood at which Allnutt was elected head.)

'And now that the Secretary of the S.P.G. has written appointing him head of the whole mission, the formalities are all complete.'

Allnutt's own view of the responsibility about to be placed upon him (suggested in the letter to his father) is still further manifested in the letter to Mr. Stafford, the Honorary Secretary of the Mission, which we give below. Allnutt was not the man to indulge in unnecessary self-depreciation—he would analyse the situation as impartially as though it were another man and not himself who was concerned. The expressions of humility in this letter may be taken therefore as expressing what he actually felt.

He writes:

February 24.

MY DEAR STAFFORD,

'So it has come about as we both desired and now I dare say our feelings are much of a muchness, deep thankfulness that one so singularly qualified for the post of Bishop has been chosen and a sense of great misgiving and uncertainty in the prospect that opens up before us as to the future of the mission itself. . . . As Carlyon seems to stand on one side, there seems no other possibility but that I should consent if the brotherhood desire it. The headship of the mission does not, of course, necessarily go along with that of the Cambridge Mission. But in this case there seems hardly any other alternative, but if it must be so and I am called to the

work you can understand with what grave misgiving and reluctance I shall enter upon it. My health is uncertain, and though I should from the outset determine that I must strictly confine the sphere of operation to what is reasonably within my powers; still it is a serious matter to put a man in charge of such a mission whose health has suffered so in the past. On one thing I know I may count and that is your sympathy and support, though you will probably have cause more than anyone else to realize what a fall there will be in that capable wise control of business, united with such eminent spiritual gifts, which shone forth so conspicuously in our present Head. I won't say more at present. I only wished to make you fully aware from the first of my misgivings. Our debt to you for all your devoted work is so great and we so fully appreciate it that the chief count in my anxiety is lest you should suffer unduly from the inevitable loss our work must undergo. . . . You probably foresee more than I can do what is involved, especially in regard to the danger of falling off of confidence, such as Lefroy inspired all round, when a new man comes to the wheel and it is seen that the good ship's course is no longer so reliable as it has been of yore. But the sense of one's own weakness is always a call for more complete faith in the power that is ours if we will only rely on it. It is not of Paul or Apollos, we know, but of God to give the increase. Pray for me that in whatever else I may fail (if called to this responsible office) I may be faithful and trustful.'

The next letter is given *in extenso*. It is illustrative of many, and, as it gives under different headings the

chief items of the work of his new position, it may well conclude this chapter.

SIMLA, *April* 19, 1899.

MY BELOVED FATHER,

You will be rather surprised to note the address, as I am to find myself here. I suffered badly last week from face-ache. In time it proved to be an abscyss? (spelling looks queer) and the doctor said he was sure I must get rid of some teeth. This necessitates what I have long expected. As all the dentists have come up here, I had to follow, and this is why I am here. As the pain had tired me a good deal, it won't be bad for me to get a few days' change before the hot weather sets in. The weather has so far been very cool at Delhi, but the heat can't be far off. Here it is glorious weather. The rhododendrons are out in full bloom and the foliage of the trees is exquisite. I am staying with the Chaplain, Saunders, who is very kind. I passed by the place yesterday where I last saw our late Bishop on the Tonga road. I little thought I should never see him again, or that his death would mean so much to me. The first sermon I preached in St. Stephen's as Vicar [1] was for the C.M.S., April 9, three days before the centenary. We thought it would be nice to celebrate the event in our Church. Wright preached a fine sermon, I am told, in St. James, the Station Church, last Sunday, so the Cambridge Mission did what it could to show its sympathy. It will be

[1] As head of the mission Allnutt had also to take the pastoral charge of the Delhi congregation of St. Stephen's.

interesting to hear of the goings on in England. I wonder if you went up for the great meeting in Exeter Hall. Here next Sunday is given up to the celebration, and Wigram is coming to preach three times. I am gradually getting to take stock of the work that lies before me. I just enumerate the heads that you may better be able to follow me from day to day and know what falls to me to undertake.

(1) *The Brotherhood.*—This, of course, is very indefinite, not much actual work involved but constant watchfulness, endeavour to win the confidence of the brethren, notice their idiosyncracies, watch their health. The apportionment of work is in the hands of the head, and he has to control while at the same time minding that he is only *primus inter pares.*

(2) *The Charge of the Congregation as Vicar and Chief Pastor.*—This is very multifarious and as the work so resembles that of a parish priest at home, need not be further specified. The chief difficulty arises from the readiness of the agents to let you assume all responsibility and use them simply as agents, whereas one's clear duty is to try and develop a healthy spirit of self-help and independence. We have a body called the central panchayat elected by the congregation annually. It is through this that all efforts to develop this spirit have to be attempted. As yet all is very rudimentary, and for the most part 'jo hukm' (what you order) is the attitude maintained by our members with one or two exceptions. Then one is expected to find wives for the young men (and sometimes the older ones too!) and matters matrimonial are apt to be very exacting in their complications.

(3) *Charge of three schools.*—Girls' Boarding School for upper classes, Girls' Industrial School for lower degree and the boys degree which I have already often written about. These are full of interest and I hope previous experience may enable me to effect something in this department.

(4) *The Ladies' and all the Zenana Mission Department.*—Lefroy used to say this is what broke him! It is most delicate work requiring so much tact and discretion. Miss Byam will, I hope, more and more be able to take the lead and relieve one of many things the head has had hitherto to transact. Almost all the workers are new and inexperienced so that though the staff is a large one, the present is a time of preparation mainly rather than of active operation. Still there is plenty to see after. There are three out-stations for the work in which one is directly responsible. But the workers are all animated with a true missionary spirit so that in one way the difficulty is immensely diminished. A minor detail but one I am wholly a novice at is the looking after horses and carriages!

(5) *The Hospital Work.*—Of course the doctors are left quite free in the discharge of the purely medical part of their work. But in a Mission Hospital there are a number of things which fall to one's care to see after—supply of assistants, care of catechumens won by the loving ministrations of the doctors, and extension of buildings. Just now the building of a Convalescent Home, which is also to be a Converts' House of Refuge and a Teachers' Home, is a special piece of work which Lefroy had fully hoped to carry out, but which has had to be left in my hands. It will cost about Rs. 10,000

and will be built in the Ladies' Mission compound. More bricks and mortar from which I hoped I had freed myself.

(6) Last and not least finance, a word at which I tremble. Lefroy has left me well in hand, but there will be great anxiety as to the maintenance of the various funds on which the different branches depend. Here our friend, Mr. Stafford, is an indispensable ally at home. Without him we should be quite at a loss how to get on. He is most kind and wholly devoted to the work. I wish you could get to know him. I can't enter into details on this head, but it is the most irksome of all. I hope I may get some lay help to relieve me in this department, one ought to be able to do so. Still as the responsibility rests with the head, he must be acquainted with all the ramifications. There are twenty different heads of accounts in the ledger, and all require special and intimate knowledge.

Now I must go to the dentist! Fond love to you all. Best thanks to the sisters for their letters.

Ever your loving Son,

S. S. ALLNUTT.

CHAPTER IV

THE MISSIONARY AS AN EDUCATIONALIST

Not till the hours of light return,
All we have built do we discern.

MATTHEW ARNOLD.

AT this point in Allnutt's history—the resignation of the college principalship, and the appointment as head of the mission—it may be well to devote a short chapter to the consideration of his educational work.

Several of Allnutt's fellow-workers have called him 'a great educationalist'. One of them says, 'It was as an educational expert and a shrewd observer of Indian thought that Allnutt was really great.'

Now a specialist may easily become a crank, but a missionary is saved from this danger by the peculiarity of his position. He cannot well become narrow, and all his educational work, if he is a true missionary, is but a means to an end. Indeed one can more easily perceive danger in the opposite direction. One can imagine a man with his missionary instincts strongly developed being tempted to use educational work *merely* as an instrument, with no love for it in itself. Allnutt was kept from this possible danger by his real love of teaching and his real love of learning. 'He was the most learned of our clergy,' said the Bishop of Lahore, 'there was a fine old scholarly flavour in all that he wrote or said.' Though St. Stephen's School and College in Allnutt's time was frankly missionary and Christian—

definite Christian teaching being given, and all subjects approached from a Christian standpoint—yet the secular side was real serious first-class work, it was not education played at as a cover for preaching sermons to the students. This will already have been gathered by the reader from Allnutt's letters, in some of which he shows his almost haunting fear lest anything short of the very best should be given to his beloved school and college, and lest there should be any danger of the foundations of the teaching given there not being 'well and truly laid'.

Other qualifications Allnutt had for a successful schoolmaster and 'professor' besides his scholarship. He was always very fond of boys, he was a patient and most efficient friend and adviser, he had a judicial mind, and the thoroughness and clearness of thought necessary to a teacher. He was certainly a strict disciplinarian, but he had as far as I know an even and judicial temper and he was certainly always a friend to his boys and students, and always accessible.

It will be realized how very like in some respects and how very unlike in other respects, the work and life of St. Stephen's School and College was to that of a public school or university at home. It is evident from the letters of the missionaries and the testimonies of the students how deeply the college has imprinted its influence and drawn its members up towards Christianity, even though comparatively few of the students became Christians as a direct result of their school and college teaching.

But it is the good leaven which is working unfailingly and which may one day leaven 'the whole lump'

of that great country. It is parallel with, and in no sense a substitute for—still less antagonistic to—the methods of direct evangelistic work.

It must remain, however, a very difficult task. It must, indeed, require men of first-class talent and character to guide institutions so delicately poised, and aiming at the greatest results, and such the Cambridge men have been and are, and such also are the Christian Indian professors and teachers who now take so large a part in the government of the school and college. One of the occasional papers of the mission written by Allnutt in 1897, and entitled 'Education as a Missionary Agency,' tells of the conditions of that date, and is especially valuable as giving the attitude of some of the students and ex-students towards their teachers.

Allnutt begins by saying: 'First of all it should be distinctly understood that by missionary education is meant, mainly and predominantly, seminaries of sound learning and religious education for *non-Christians*.' He gives the proportion of students at the time, 1897, as follows: *College*—Hindus, fifty-four; Mahomedans, nine; Christians, seven; and for the *School* (with its branches): Hindus, 505; Mahomedans, seventy-five; Christians, thirty-two.[1] He explains that while some Christian parents naturally desire that their children should be educated in exclusively Christian schools, he thinks it better on the whole that they should attend the mission school. 'The more earnest ones among

[1] Now (1920) the numbers are roughly :—*College* : Hindus, 130; Mahomedans, 100; Christians, twenty; and for the *School* : Hindus, 500; Mahomedans, 200; Christians eighty.

them are able to exercise a good influence on their non-Christian fellow-students, etc. . . . In the case of undergraduates at college, there has never been any doubt in our minds that the influence and example of the Christian young men . . . have almost invariably been such as to make us feel them to be real helps to us in our work.' The whole paper is so interesting that it seems hardly fair to cut into it, yet I only have space to pick out a few testimonies given by different students to the highest kind of help the college had been to them. One of them (who had since become a District Magistrate) wrote: 'I most solemnly assure you that it is impossible for me to forget the holy and pious lessons of morality and spiritualism (*sic*) which have been imparted to us in the lecture-room of the Christian College, of which the very remembrance is a strength and help in the discharge of our duties.'

Another wrote: 'I owe to you not only my intellectual education, but what is more, spiritual. Now I am fully convinced that the spiritual instruction given in our college is of the greatest value. It develops our higher nature, tells us what we are and what to do.'

Another writes: 'Though I am pretty certain that I would never be in a mood to accept your Lord's claims as you put them in their entirety, I would not shut my eyes to the greater part of the stimulus to do what I ought to do, which, I frankly confess, has come from your teaching and the religious teaching of the college, etc.'

Another testifying to the influence of one of the brotherhood, not Allnutt in this case, says: 'He has brought me much nearer to Christ, if not yet to

Christianity. He has solved many difficulties and problems . . . and this he has done, not so much by argument and logic . . . as by the example of his own life and character and treatment of us. He has shown to what sublime heights a life lived in Christ may attain. . . .'

Allnutt's comment on this is as follows :—' This may serve to encourage some who, in thinking of the missionary vocation, are apt to think that they lack the intellectual gifts required for the work in a country like India. It does, indeed, afford a field for the highest powers of mind, but experience shows that in the case of even the most intelligent students what tells with them most is the peculiar *ethos* of the Christian character, which they feel to have a power which moves them more than the most powerful logic. " I can never forget," wrote one of our ablest students of one of his teachers, "what he has been to me, and when I am deeply stirred by anything, he comes in as a bright star to my memory and restores my faith in mankind".' At the end of this paper Allnutt speaks about the direct religious teaching given in the college.

' Almost all the subjects are capable of having a religious bearing imparted to them, and the indirectness of the lesson often enhances its effectiveness. Still, actual instruction in the Bible is, for all that, the part of the day's teaching which we endeavour to make the *pièce de resistance*, so to say, of our teaching. It is certainly the subject in which the men come to take as keen an interest as any of their course. Especially is this the case in regard to the weekly lecture given to all the students assembled together in the Central Hall, when each of the Christian professors in turn treats of a

special subject announced beforehand. Discussion is allowed, and it is noticeable what great improvement there has been of late in the tone and *animus* of those who take part in it. . . . So often there is a real desire manifested to get at the heart of the difficulty raised.' Such, in some respects, were the Mission School and St. Stephen's College when Allnutt ruled over them in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

I will now give a few testimonies to the special value of Allnutt's educational work.

Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton (a very old friend of Allnutt's) writes :

'The foundation of St. Stephen's College fell in the early days of the Punjab University, which began in 1881. The Government College and the Oriental College were already in existence and the Forman Christian College was in a state of suspended animation. Dr. J. C. R. Ewing revived it in 1884. St. Stephen's was thus one of the earliest colleges of the new period in the Punjab. To it and to the Forman College fell the task of determining the type of Christian collegiate education in the Punjab. The other mission colleges (Gordon at Rawalpindi and Edwardes at Peshawar) came long after.

'There were naturally characteristic differences between the Delhi and the Lahore Colleges ; one was British and Anglican, the other American Presbyterian ; but there was the closest sympathy between the Principals, and their aim was absolutely one : to build up a body of Indian men trained in the best learning of the day, thoroughly sound in body ; both study and recreation being permeated by the ideals of Christ and

culminating in the presentation of Him to each student by living sympathy and persuasive teaching of the Bible. Lahore, as the capital of the province and the seat of the University, developed the larger college, but from the point of view of missionary aims this was not an unmixed advantage. Allnutt in each important act of his administration had regard to first principles and ultimate aims, and one of these was (much less generally acknowledged then than now) the importance of personal contact between teacher and taught for the formation of moral and spiritual character.

'He also represented the British idea of the college as a social unity with a character and atmosphere of its own, and in both these respects he set the tone of St. Stephen's for the future so that it became specially attractive and helpful to Christian students as these multiplied later on. To these characteristics I should add the influence of the Cambridge type of scholarship as exemplified in his master Westcott: widely read, deeply and mystically reflective, open-minded and polished in expression.

'As an active member of the University Senate, Allnutt's influence in this and other ways was exerted upon college education generally in the Punjab.'

Canon Cunningham writes:

'During my first year or so in Delhi Allnutt was Principal of St. Stephen's College, and I do not suppose he was ever so happy as during his principalship of the college. In contrast with the régime of John Wright who succeeded as Principal, the time of Allnutt was as Democracy compared with splendid Monarchy; for, though Allnutt could be severe, his aim was to associate

the college, and more especially the college staff, both Christian and non-Christian, in all that he did.

'The staff meetings were instituted in his time and reforms or proposed changes of method or discipline were discussed beforehand. I am convinced they were entirely sound, the staff was made to feel that they were not merely paid agents but sharers in the government of the college, and had correspondingly a real responsibility for its good name. At the time, however, the step taken was a bold one and it was characteristic of the Principal. The influence which Allnutt exercised over the minds of his students, and especially of the Hindu students, was very remarkable; this was no doubt partly due to his learning and scholarship—for the East has a deep inherited respect for real learning—and also to the scrupulous fairness with which he dealt with Indian belief and thought; he was always ready and eager to appreciate what was good and true in the position of others. But beyond all this was his belief in his students—here was his great secret of power, one which no doubt he learnt from Christ, he believed in them, and, so doing, led them to believe in their own best selves. I remember when Allnutt had struggled back to life after a severe illness, the real and unaffected happiness and joy with which the news was received by the students, and in the address of congratulation which at that time they presented to him they spoke of how, when they were tempted to despair of themselves or of human nature, they thought of him and renewed hope.'

Mr. Kelley's recollections of work at Delhi begin in 1886 and he tells us how on his arrival at Delhi he found Allnutt (whom he had known slightly in

undergraduate days at Cambridge) installed as Principal of St. Stephen's College and High School, and throwing himself with the utmost zeal and enthusiasm into the work.

'It was a work for which he was peculiarly fitted and in spite of the great strain of the hours of teaching in a tropical climate, and the anxiety of numerous educational problems which were constantly arising in those early days, there is no doubt that the years of principalship were some of the very happiest of his life. In the hot weather he was up at 5 a.m. in order to join in Mattins at St. Stephen's Church and begin college at 6; there, and in the school, he remained till 10.30 and often till 11, when the heat was becoming intense, and again in the evening between the hours of 5.30 and 8 he was either superintending the sports of the students in the Queen's Gardens or organizing lectures and games in the various clubs which he started The college and school buildings were fortunately very near to one another in those days, so that the supervision of both institutions by one man was quite possible. The school was then held in the picturesque house in the Chandni Chowk opposite to the old Mission Hospital which is now in the possession of a Bank, and the college had its dwelling in a narrow lane at the back of the school, where two large native houses which faced each other across the street had been rented for the purpose.

'Here Allnutt was able to lay the solid foundations of the work upon which the future educational side of the mission was built up, and under his fostering care it soon began to develop. The number of students rapidly increased, and daily religious teaching in all classes was

commenced with occasional religious lectures in Urdu to school and college collectively.

'It was not long before Allnutt was elected a Fellow of the Punjab University, and for many years he had a large share in the decisions with regard to the educational curriculum in the North of India.'

Bishop Lefroy (in a letter quoted in his recently published biography) writes of Allnutt's educational work:

August 13, 1887: 'We are getting Allnutt started off for his fifteen months' furlough, and certainly if any man ever deserved a testimonial and a hearty godspeed it is Allnutt. His work for the last eight years has been simply incessant, and all so well directed and concentrated and full of effect. He found the school in a miserable condition. He has regenerated it; founded the college and carried it on till it takes a high place among the institutions of the Punjab; enriched both, with all kinds of special branches of study, military drill, etc.; reformed the whole method of teaching or is in a fair way to do so; instituted a most flourishing club. . . . Add to this that he has largely influenced the whole educational work of the Punjab.'

'It was on his return from this furlough in the autumn of 1888 that Allnutt[1] threw his whole heart into the scheme for establishing St. Stephen's College in suitable buildings in the city, buildings which should be worthy of its reputation and educational importance. This could only be done by securing a site from Government, and the promise of a substantial grant to meet

[1] I am now again quoting from Mr. Kelley's recollections.

subscriptions raised privately. After long discussions a site was chosen inside the Kashmir Gate, near the spot where our troops effected a breach in the city walls at the close of the siege of Delhi in the Mutiny, and not far from the Church of St. James, known as the Station Church, used by Europeans and the troops quartered in Delhi. Thanks to Allnutt's energy money was collected from all quarters and through the years 1889 and 1890 the work of building the college continued in full swing. That kind friend of the mission, Sir Swinton Jacob, of Jeypur, supplied Allnutt with plans for a really magnificent building, which, though a joy to contemplate, would have involved an outlay far beyond the sum which Allnutt had at his disposal, and therefore these plans had to be returned to the architect to be mercilessly cut down. In 1891 the present building was ready for the opening ceremony which was performed by Sir J. B. Lyall, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, and when soon afterwards the hostels for Christian and Hindu students were completed on the other side of the road, Allnutt had the great satisfaction of seeing his efforts crowned with success.'

I have before me a mass of appreciation of Allnutt's educational work from his old students stretching over a great many years from which I make a small selection. These testimonies found voice chiefly upon three occasions:

(1) On taking his first furlough in 1887, to which sufficient reference has been already made; (2) and particularly, on his resignation of the Principalship of the College at the end of 1898; and (3) as would be natural, at the time of his death.

The following 'Address presented to Mr. Allnutt on December 31, 1898, in the Town Hall, Delhi,' is too long for complete quotation, but I give the most interesting parts of it. It speaks for itself:

To

THE REV. S. S. ALLNUTT, M.A.

(FROM HIS OLD PUPILS)

REVEREND AND DEAR SIR,

It was with deep regret that we, your ever-grateful and affectionate old pupils, heard that you were about to sever your connection with St. Stephen's College. We would be extremely wanting in public spirit and our duty to you, if we allowed this occasion to pass without conveying to you, however inadequately and unworthily, our sense of the deep debt of gratitude which we owe you. . . . You brought us light, you brought us culture. For twenty years you have steadily kept before us and before hundreds and thousands of our countrymen a very high standard of personal goodness, inspiring unselfishness and wide philanthropy. It is an undoubted fact that times have come, and are coming increasingly, when it is and will be hardly possible to believe in human nature. But we are proud to declare that a look at you has always restored our belief in human nature, and the ultimate triumph of goodness both in the heart of man and all that surrounds him. We are always proud to call ourselves your pupils. We gratefully give expression to the fact that we look back to our student days as the most inspiring period of our lives, and that chiefly because of your kind, sympathetic and elevating instruction.

We have continued to mark with grateful and wondering attention how completely you have given up your life to our city. We have seen you coming back again and again to your labour of love, after sickness and physical disability have compelled you to retire for a time. There are scores of our fellow pupils, getting on happily and successfully in life, who owe their happiness and success to your fatherly and benevolent efforts on their behalf.

Your resigning the Principalship of St. Stephen's is a grievous loss to us and our city. But we are comforted by the knowledge that you will continue to live amongst us. We have not only benefited immensely by your deep learning and instruction—but have learnt to value you as a close personal friend, whom it is a sacred privilege to meet from time to time. Although our student days are past yet we continue to look up to you for wise counsel, fatherly advice and encouragement, under adverse and trying circumstances.

We beg leave to present to you this humble and unworthy expression and record of our grateful love. We are conscious that it is neither worthy of this solemn occasion, nor of the immense sacrifice that you have made on our behalf. Still we hope you will kindly accept it.

We remain,

YOUR EVER-GRATEFUL AND AFFECTIONATE
OLD PUPILS.

The following letter is from Mr. Sime, the Director of Public Instruction for the Punjab. Of this letter Allnutt said : ' It was specially grateful to me as he is a man of such high character and sincerity '.

EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT,
PUNJAB.

LAHORE,
January 7, 1899.

MY DEAR ALLNUTT,

In acknowledging your kind letter, bidding as it were farewell to the Department, I hope you will permit me to express my indebtedness to you for the important share you have always taken in the discussion of educational matters, for your warm interest in the cause of education, and for the support you have been to me whilst I have been at the head of the Department. I have been able to regard you as a kind of right hand, especially in college matters; and, whilst I am deeply grateful for the immense help you have been to the Department, it is with keen regret that I contemplate your loss to education. For your most kind words regarding your relations with the Department, I am sincerely thankful. May the work in which you are now more particularly to be engaged be as satisfactory to you as your past work has been gratifying and helpful to me.

With all good wishes, believe me,

Yours ever sincerely,

J. SIME.

To his father at this time he writes:

January 12, 1899: 'Since I last wrote I have ceased to be Principal of St. Stephen's. The first day when the change really came home to me was Tuesday, January 2, when college re-opened, and I was left sitting at the

breakfast table while the others connected with the college went off. It made me feel very queer but there is so much to do of a multifarious kind that so far I have not had time to feel idle' . . . Referring to his reply to the addresses, etc., he says:

'It was inevitable that I should be led to dwell in my own thought, and much that I said in reply, on what I have failed to do rather than on what I have been enabled to accomplish, but I could point to two things as causes of genuine satisfaction in my retrospect.

(1) The very close bond of union, and cordiality of the relationship between myself and my old pupils was borne witness to by the occasion and needed no deduction from the terms of its recognition. (2) The *tone* of the students is, I could heartily testify, all that I could desire, and the testimony of English officials of high standing well able to judge is very encouraging, as showing that even when they are not in sympathy with our missionary purpose they do recognize that our efforts result in imparting to the men who come under our influence a higher sense of duty and conscientiousness than is to be found in the ordinary native. . . . For all this one can well thank God and take courage.'

It was only in an official sense that Allnutt could be said to have 'severed his connection' with St. Stephen's College in 1899. To the end of his life he was the natural father of the college, both as its founder, and in his capacity as head of the mission. Probably the most important act of Allnutt's after-life in connection with the college was the share he had in the appointment of Professor S. K. Rudra as Principal in 1907.

Mr. Rudra had worked for a long time in the college,

and when Mr. Hibbert-Ware went on furlough Mr. Rudra was made acting Principal. About a year after when it was known that Mr. Hibbert-Ware would not return, the Cambridge Committee fell in with Allnutt's proposal and Mr. Rudra was appointed permanently Principal of the College. The appointment—the results of which have been so abundantly justified—of an Indian Principal, with members of the Cambridge Brotherhood working under him was a new departure, and a step of very great importance, for it tended to break down previous racial barriers as to entrusting Indian Christians with positions of first-rate responsibility.

Though the decision was the act of the whole Brotherhood, Allnutt as head was ready to bear and did actually bear the main responsibility. Bishop R. S. Copleston, at that time Metropolitan of India, says: 'The decision has largely influenced the status of Indian leaders in our missions, and there can have been few acts in Allnutt's career which were more important.'

I am sure that Mr. Rudra would like me to add that during the ten years in which—while he was Principal of the College with full powers—Allnutt as head of the mission had to share with him the responsibility of decisions on any large questions of policy which arose from time to time, a very strong mutual affection always made their joint work extremely harmonious and happy.

The following testimonies are those of former students of the college given after Allnutt's death, and published in the April (1918) number of the *Delhi Mission News*.

The quotations are from different writers all now occupying important public positions in their own country.

From Sir Ram Poplai, District Judge, Jhelum :

(1) 'When the Mission College was inside Dariba, while going to college we used to pass through the Mission School. I remember occasionally seeing the Principal (i.e. Mr. Allnutt) stop in his quick gait to pat some little boy of the infant class (who happened to come in his way) affectionately on the head. It was a small trait, but it is such little things which go a long way to show the real side of a man's character, and the above is a touching picture which frequently occurs to me when I think of Mr. Allnutt. In class work he was able to make the dreariest subject interesting, and we always used to look forward to the "periods" in which he had to teach.'

From S. Bhagwan Das, Head Master of the Government High School, Rohtak :

(2) 'To his students he was not merely in name, but in the real sense of the expression *in loco parentis*. In its early days the college had no habitation of its own, but was carried on in the city, and a dark and ill-ventilated room served as the Principal's Office. The goldsmiths plied their noisy trade below, and the public well close by was the scene of many a wrangle and "fracas". Amid these distracting surroundings Canon Allnutt concentrated his mind and attention on the higher education of the young. He would supplement the college morning prayer by reading passages from great thinkers, and in the beginning of each year with Tennyson's "Ring Out Wild Bells to the Wild Skies." As a professor his favourite subjects were English Literature and Philosophy.'

From a leading Barrister in Delhi :

(3) 'As a teacher he never left the class without being satisfied of each student having received what he wished to impart to him. He took great but judicious interest in the modelling of their character. . . . In the cause of education his services to Delhi were simply great. After abolishment of the Government College the prospect of high education in this imperial town was very gloomy indeed. He started the Mission College and just saved Delhi from the fate which was bound to follow. He started with small beginnings, persevered and perfected them.'

(4) 'He was an educationalist in Delhi at the time, when, to say the truth, there was no university education in the city. He came as a blessing to the city to inspire it with learning and knowledge.'

'A young Indian undergraduate of Cambridge recalled with enthusiasm the annual college gatherings over which Allnutt used to preside, and told me how each year they said of him, "How wonderful that we are keeping him all these years. . . . Can we hope another yea r. . . and then, yes, we still have him with us".'

'Mention has been made of the clubs, etc., which Allnutt founded in connection with the school and college. The chief of these was called the "Star of Delhi" Club and it appears to have had a long and successful course. "He found time," wrote one of his pupils, "to preside at almost every one of its meetings, to which he invited distinguished visitors from time to time, such as Canon Wilberforce and Professor Bryce".'

Enough has been said for the reader to form his own

opinion of the value of the educational work of the Delhi Mission.

No doubt there will always be two opinions upon the subject of the missionary as an educationalist. The results recorded above, great as they are, do not, except in a few cases, reach the degree of immediate or complete conversion to Christianity. And the labour and the expense—both in a higher sense and in the literal sense of the word—are immense.

Many things go to the making of a missionary, e.g. great faith, great patience, an evangelistic temperament, wisdom and intellect, and not least bodily strength. It is not surprising that in all the times of the Church's history her missionaries have been comparatively few and precious. There are consequently some who think that the missionary should confine himself to definite evangelistic work, and not touch 'secular' teaching. But others, and perhaps these see furthest into the horizon, believe that in the end results not less valuable, not less great than these of 'mass movements' will reward and perhaps have already rewarded faithful educational work.

It may be presumptuous for us at home to attempt to form an opinion upon the question at all, though it is impossible to doubt that God's richest blessing rests upon work such as Allnutt and his fellow-labourers gave, and the present men are giving now in the Delhi School and College.

As to the spiritual policy of educational work generally we must leave it to those on the spot to tell us what they think, and I cannot do better than close this chapter with a short quotation from the April (1920)

number of *Delhi*.[1] The paragraph from which I quote is by 'Our general correspondent' and is entitled 'The Value of Educational Work'.

'This educational work of ours, among Hindus and Mahomedans equally with our own Christian community, has been, and will continue to be, very expensive. Is it worth while going on? Ought we to concentrate on educating the Christians only? Our tangible results are small. Is it sound policy to attempt in these days to influence and win non-Christian India by mixing the teaching of our Faith with general secular education, especially when feelings run so high at times against anything "Western," and "proselytising" is suspected at every turn? The writer has only been a few years in Delhi, and was not naturally drawn to this sort of work, but he would like to say emphatically that he *does* feel it is worth while. True, "we have toiled all the night and have taken nothing" (nothing almost that you can see and point to); but may we not believe that this tried net is a true part of our Master's methods, and bravely go on letting it down again? And who knows when we may enclose a great multitude so that our net be even breaking?'

[1] Page 127. '*The Delhi Mission News*' is now called '*Delhi*'.

CHAPTER V

THE HEADSHIP OF THE MISSION AND BROTHERHOOD

(1900–1910)

HAVING given in earlier chapters considerable illustrations of the daily routine of Allnutt's missionary life, both pastoral and educational, I will not repeat such illustrations, but will ask the reader to picture the ups and downs, hopes and fears, defeats and victories, continuing to the end, with ever an onward growth of experience and expansion: time marking the while its stealthy signs of the strenuous life in the lines of the face, in the first grey hairs, and in the sapping of the early strength of youth. Some people picture a missionary's life as an unbroken record of exciting events; such, of course, is very far from being the general rule. Generally speaking, there must be much sameness year by year in all really sound work. Changes come gradually. Yet these ten years were changeful and important years to the Delhi workers. And the new feature which we find in Allnutt's letters of this period is the constant and increasing reference to Indian unrest and to nationalistic movements in India, and their influence upon the work of the mission. This is noticeable especially for the years about 1906–1911.

From 1900 onwards Allnutt writes with the burden of the leadership of the mission upon him. He can no longer specialize, and a great load of work of all kinds, much of it difficult and harassing, lies continually upon

him in ever-increasing weight. His letters mark no change of style, only we miss the more leisurely note of the earlier years, and sometimes they are less legible!

The following list is taken from the standing notice on the cover of the *Delhi Mission News* of the 'chief facts in the history of the mission'; we give the items referring to these years.

1899. Rev. G. A. Lefroy consecrated Bishop of Lahore.
Rev. S. S. Allnutt became Head of the Mission.

1900. S. Mary's Home opened for Convalescents, Converts and Teachers.

1902. Celebration of the Jubilee of the Mission.

1905. Branch of Cambridge Brotherhood established in College Hostel.
Consecration of three new Churches.
Earthquake in Punjab. Karnal Hospital wrecked.

1907. Commemoration of Mutiny Martyrs.
Professor Rudra appointed Principal of S. Stephen's College.

1908. Opening of new Hospital at Karnal.
Large addition to Buildings of S. Stephen's College.
Opening of new Hospital at Delhi.

A letter of 1900 welcoming the Rev. N. C. Marsh as a new member of the Brotherhood reminds us of a very important part of the 'head's' new work, viz. choosing, initiating or corresponding with new workers. This side of the work grew as the mission grew, especially on the women's side. In the same year, in a letter home,

Allnutt groans over the slowness of the native Christians to learn to help themselves :

'It is a kind of disease that infects Christians here, this idea that everything must be done for them. I often feel that we started in India on the wrong track. Converts had to be helped so often when they came out and left all to follow Christ, that the practice grew up of *going on* doing everything for them and . . . they and their children have gone on leaning on us, and *we* have too much let them lean . . . I cannot help hoping the time may soon come when we shall be told that our yearly grant will from a certain date be gradually reduced and thus throw the church on its own resources. We shall never be in a really sound and healthy condition till that time comes, I am sure.'

The year 1900 lies far behind us, and no doubt things are very different now, but this extract is interesting in view of the fact that the force of circumstances seems likely very soon to solve this problem of self-support (which, of course, still exists in large portions of the mission field) drastically if not rudely !

The following letter is dated May 2, 1901, and is written from Karnal by Allnutt to his life-long friend, Mr. Talbot Baines. To this friend he wrote very freely, and unburdened himself of the thoughts and opinions suggested by his work which were uppermost at the time of writing.

'Only when I get to an out-station have I any chance of leisure to fulfil my duties to my home friends. Here I find myself with a solid half-hour to spare and I hasten to give you some report of myself and my work. I have not got your last here with me . . . Your thoughts

interested me deeply at the time, but that captious and untenable sieve my memory, does not retain even as it used to do! I am turned fifty now and am beginning to turn grey. I think I have enough to turn one grey if advancing years did not begin to take the matter in hand. But there are so many compensations that I ought not to complain. One special delight amidst all the pressing cares which every day brings with it is the instruction of the convert whom you may have read of in my reports. He is a man of rare power and originality. . . . He strongly holds that Islam is, properly viewed, only an heretical sect of Christians, very much what Archbishop Benson once tried to make out in one of his later missionary speeches. Though I fear he will have to modify that standpoint in time, yet as it ranges him on the side of those who try to find out what latent or patent points of harmony subsist between other faiths and the gospel, rather than gird at them all as false and pernicious, I am only too thankful he should *start* from this standpoint.

'There are not wanting signs that as our Indian fellow-churchmen grow to think for themselves they begin to doubt whether we are not attempting to commit them to a system of discipline which is opposed to their own interests and tendencies.

'It is clear to me that the authority of the Church is one of the main principles they will rebel against. So far from its being true that they are naturally inclined to bow to authority, as accustomed so long to monarchical government, I believe that the bent of their character is more strongly towards unrestricted liberty, and that the period of the Judges is a state of

things ecclesiastically as well as politically which they would much appreciate. To give an instance. They are agitating in all parts of India now for the rescinding of the prohibition to marry a deceased wife's sister, and the ground distinctly is that the East should not be trammelled by the West in such liberty against which there is no apostolic authority, which they would bow to perhaps, if it were explicit (what is involved in a corollary from *principles* they do not easily recognize). '

Á propos, to a certain extent, of the above are a few words from a letter to his father of about this time :

' Out here the incongruity of various sects competing together for the extension of Christ's kingdom is not I believe so great a scandal to the *heathen* world outside as to the inner world of Christians, who, as they become better educated and think for themselves more, are more and more led to ask—(1) Why they should be fettered, tied and bound by Western imported divisions, (2) whether the Anglican Church has any prescriptive right to allegiance beyond its antiquity and prestige. Though as you may suppose our teaching is not uncertain on this latter point, I could hardly find half-a-dozen of our Christians who would assert any other preference for our Church than custom or accident may dictate.'

On October 5, 1902, Allnutt had a letter from the Viceroy offering him the Bishopric of Nagpur. This he refused, but, as several letters on the subject show, not without considering acceptance as a possible decision. There is a letter from the Metropolitan of Calcutta expressing the hope that he would accept. He also naturally consulted Bishop Lefroy ; what advice he gave I do not know. I seem to recollect at the time hearing

that there would be the need of much riding in the new diocese and that this was something of a determining factor against acceptance; but the chief reason was that he felt his call to remain at his Delhi work greater than the call to leave it, and decided accordingly. When he did refuse it must have been in very definite terms, as I remember him saying that he had so worded his refusal that such a thing would not occur again!

In making the offer Lord Curzon says in the course of his letter:

'We all concur in thinking that you are marked out by character and ability and experience for the office, and that the new See would be fortunate if it were to secure such an incumbent. I hope you will authorize me to return an affirmative answer to the Secretary of State, in which case he will submit your name to the King,' etc.

In the course of his reply to this letter Allnutt says:

'The offer is so startling and wholly unexpected that I shall need time for thought and prayer. . . . I may, however, venture to say at once, that quite apart from the grave doubts I cannot but at first feel as to my fitness to undertake so responsible an office, the recent death of my colleague Mr. Wright has made such a very serious gap in the band of workers associated with me in the Cambridge Mission, that it must I feel be very doubtful whether I can be justified in leaving my position here even though the claims of the office I am invited to accept be, as I cannot but recognize, so urgent and important.'

The actual letter refusing the Bishopric I have not seen, but Lord Curzon, in acknowledging it, said: 'I

entirely respect the honourable and self-sacrificing reasons that have led you to arrive at this decision.'

At the end of this year (1902) Allnutt was given the Kaiser-i-Hind gold medal. I think it is correct to say that he was the first missionary to receive this honour.

In a sort of postscript to a letter home he says: 'Did I tell you that I have had a gold Kaiser-i-Hind medal bestowed on me by Lord Curzon as a Coronation decoration.'

A very old friend in high official position wrote to him as follows: 'My very *heartiest* congratulations upon your decoration. May it give you as much pleasure as it gives your friends. There is not one on the list that has been better earned.'

Later on Allnutt was made an Honorary Canon of Lahore Cathedral, which, I think, completes the list of such acknowledgments of his work.

Towards the end of November 9, 1905, Allnutt writes to his father a full account of the consecration of three new Churches in one week:

'It has been a wonderful week. The consecration of three Churches in succession is a quite unique thing not only in the history of our mission but probably in the history of missions. It was due to no premeditation; it just came about in the course of events that three places which needed churches have got them about the same time. But it has none the less been a great time, and we have felt that the three mission stations (so Bishop Moule would translate the ἐκκλησίαι of St. Paul's epistles) have not only each received separate blessing and stimulus, but have been drawn

together in prayer and sympathy. . . . Tuesday was the first day. The Church of Holy Trinity, built in memory of dear Maitland, has been built on a Byzantine design, and is in design probably unique in India, if not in the East. . . . It is for the poor of the congregation of Delhi, numbering about 270, who are now to be under Kelley's pastoral charge. The new feature of this and both the other churches is that we have dispensed with pews and all sit on the ground except the clergy officiating. (It is not easy or perhaps seemly for clergy in their robes to get up and down from the floor.) It was nice to see how happily the people reverted to their own national posture, which we Europeans have in these parts done our best to *un*teach them. . . . The second church consecrated was at Fatepur, our village community sixteen miles out of Delhi—St. Paul's it is to be called. The contrast to the Tuesday performance was complete. Just a handful of Christians, a perfectly plain simple church which has cost only Rs. 4,000 at most (that of Holy Trinity costs more than Rs. 25,000). . . . The last was to-day at Karnal, where the congregation now has its own church, a beautiful structure costing about Rs. 11,000 = £730. All have been designed and carried out by Coore who has placed us all under a heavy debt of obligation. We are indeed thankful.'

There is a letter of 1905 'written during Retreat'. It takes on the character specially suitable to such a time and gives in convincing language his view of the true 'rationale' of a Retreat.

'One gets to depend less on the actual addresses, except so far as a guide to thought and meditation and

prayer; they ensure too that all of us are at the same time following much the same line in these occupations, and so promote the fellowship which—owing to the Rule of Silence most of us observe—has no actual way of expression otherwise. . . . The work is so absorbing and insistent that I do need to seek more time for this simple practice of God's presence and this being in the spirit as the one absolute condition of true and successful ministry. . . . The adjustment of the claims of work and prayer is indeed the most vital and yet (to me) most difficult of all the problems of one's ministry, but I do realize the need of more resolute endeavour not to acquiesce in a lower standard than what I know to be necessary if one is to carry an ethos of grace and power into one's work and to be saved from mechanicalness.'

The annual Retreats were always held at Cawnpore, because there were better buildings and surroundings in that place. Allnutt, we are told, always made the arrangements during his headship with the greatest care for the comfort and spiritual help of the brethren.

Appropriate to the quotation just given are a couple of sentences from another letter: 'That saying of Martin Luther, "To-day is such a full day for me, I can't do with less than three hours prayer." If only one could realize that, "the more work, the more prayer, and how different the work would be".'

In sharp contrast to the subject of these letters is that written to his sister just before the fiftieth anniversary of the Mutiny[1] telling of the fears there had been of

[1] Date of the Indian Mutiny, 1857.

possible danger and going into the subject of British rule in India with great frankness.

The subject with which this and several of the following letters deals, has become sadly familiar to the world in general, in these years of restlessness and unsettlement which have followed the Great War. At the time of writing this Memoir, the situation in India changes almost daily, and it may seem that no comparison of 1907 with 1922 is possible, yet many of the main factors must be the same now as then. We have Allnutt at his strongest on such a topic, with a really exceptional knowledge of the subject, and from a different angle to that of the soldier or the statesman, an immense sympathy and yet a level-headed clear insight which refuses to be carried away in any direction. Though he speaks out of the past he deserves to be listened to:

'Had I written last week I dare say I might have been somewhat alarmist. There was a day or so then when there did seem reason for concern and anxiety, not merely because of the approach of the fiftieth anniversary of the Mutiny, but because the sedition-mongers seemed to be gaining ground and being left unchecked, the loyal faction of the community was beginning in a way to waver, i.e. it was doubtful whether the Government really *dared* to check the torrent of sedition daily poured out in papers and in public meetings all over the Punjab and Bengal. The worst of these in Delhi was, sad to relate, a former student of our college, a fact which has tended to give colour to the charge . . . that our college is a hot-bed of sedition (which is very far indeed from being true,

though like all other colleges it is full of men who are budding politicians and all think themselves to belong to a down-trodden and oppressed race). He has such a vogue that it was confidently believed if he were arrested there would be an uprising to release him. Many things last week conspired to increase the unrest and the foreboding of a riot (at least) in Delhi. Then on Saturday it was made known that the ringleader in Lahore, Lajput Rai, had been deported and this in a most extraordinary and unexpected way has tended to cow and silence the agitators and to calm and give confidence to the loyal part of the community.

'All this week things have been quieting down and now no one seems to entertain any sense of alarm or panic. It was bad while it lasted, for our ladies and our girls were so frightened because all sorts of horrid blood-curdling things were said to them on the road to Church and on their walks. Men would draw a finger across their throats and show what they might expect before long, and even to a lady it was said "one bullet will be enough for her". This has passed for the nonce and if only the Government are wise and generous as well as firm, they may now safely venture to take measures to show the loyal part of the reformers that their reasonable expectations are being considered and will in due time be fulfilled. It is useless to disguise the fact that the idea has got firm hold of practically the whole educated community that India ought to be for the Indians and hence the alien governing race ought, if it wants to perpetuate its rule, to concede large powers—very vaguely conceived of by all at present—to those Indians who are capable of exercising

them. The disloyal section think they can force the hand of the Government and so dictate as a victorious party what terms they like. The loyal majority (for so it is at present) take a fairer view of the situation. They know their real helplessness. They know if we were to go they would all be at each other's throats instanter. They know that religious bigotry repressed for the time by unnatural alliance for national and political ends would very soon gain the upper hand as it always has in India—and then—after that the deluge! They know that the British rule in India is the *only* possible restraining power (like the restrainer—or "letter" in 2 Thess. ii—if we take that to refer, as most do now, to the Roman Empire) and though they do not *like* us or our ways for the most part, they accept us as indispensable for the development of their legitimate aims. That is to some extent the situation at present, and as I say, it all depends on the wisdom and tact of our rulers whether this section shall be won over and secured in its loyalty, or allowed by its aims being unsatisfied to drift into alliance with the irreconcilables. We are going to have our quiet Commemoration Service next week. The stone is being prepared to put up in our Church in memory of the martyrs of May 11, 1857, and the service then will, I hope, have a happy effect on our people, as it will if it lead them to see how the martyr spirit is the true Christian ethos, which they lack so—so do we all—the readiness to bear shame, contumely and loss for Christ's sake. . . .'

It will be convenient to include here a few further extracts from different letters bearing upon this subject or kindred to it, (1907) to Mr. Talbot Baines:

'It is very hard to diagnose accurately just now the active form of the unrest. It is apparently quiescent at present . . . but it would be futile to suppose that there are no rocks ahead . . . until they come to see that their hope of real progress and political enfranchisement lies in co-operating with Government, instead of maintaining a purely obstructive and hostile attitude towards all that is being done . . . there cannot be any real way made in the attainment of what is natural and reasonable in their aspirations. Two things strike one as salient in the situation.

'(1) That it is so largely *racial* hatred which is at the bottom of the discontent and this is so sadly aggravated by the too frequent insolence and lack of courtesy and sympathy shown by Anglo-Indians. A simple instance may illustrate what I mean. The other day a native gentleman was calling on me. I lifted the *chiq* (grass curtain in front of our doors) for him to come in. When he was seated he said, "Mr. Allnutt, if all Europeans treated us like that, there would be no unrest". That was saying too much no doubt, but it is not too much to say that the acuteness of the discontent would largely be mitigated if only we treated them decently in our social relations.

'(2) The political excitement is so absorbing that it throws into the background the former eagerness for social reform. The leaders know that if they aim to reform the social abuses that are the real source of degradation and the main cause of their unfitness for any immediate concession of administrative or civic privileges, they throw down an apple of discord among themselves which would disrupt all their apparent

cohesion. This is based mainly on the "agin the Government" policy—of constructive policy (practicable at least) they have next to nothing to show.

'And the worst of it is that the Moderates are so overawed by the Extremists that they fear to avow their convictions. They dare not say the English Raj is not merely what we *have* to submit to, it is what we know is the *sine quâ non* not merely of peace, order and security but of the only possible guarantee of true, if gradual, progress. To own this is the unpardonable heresy nowadays, and they dare not face it.'

January, 1909 (To Mr. Maconachie—showing what really anxious times these years were and how the spirit of the 'unrest' added difficulties and new problems to the missionary work):

'Things are, of course, much quieter and more normal now, and the policy of the Moderate leaders is to induce their followers to give the Government proposals a fair trial. I have been surprised to find how the concession of such a very small fraction of their demands and expectations has been greeted with such acclamation.

'I fear really they are a good deal cowed by the strenuous repression of the last few months. One wonders whether the complex machinery of the Indian Government will ever be able to carry out anything substantial before the patience of the leaders is exhausted. I suppose at least six months must elapse before any part of Lord Morley's scheme becomes a *fait accompli*. Still, pessimism is bad, and this much at least is clear that the delay gives us Christian missionaries more time to learn how to adapt ourselves to the new conditions and discern what is God's will for

the future expansion of the Church. We shall come ere long to the parting of the ways and if we are not able to devise plans for the devolution of responsibility to our Indian fellow-workers, the new spirit which is beginning to infect and in some sense inflate them will lead to such an impatience of European control that before they are really fit for independence they will separate and be for forming their own national church on their own lines.'

It will be evident that as the leader of a great mission Allnutt had a difficult task in steering a right course at this time. He had every sympathy with legitimate nationalistic tendencies, as we have seen, but he was the head of the mission and he was an older man. Some of the younger men were inclined to 'force the pace' as he himself puts it, especially Mr. Andrews, a man of great gifts and devotion, who had thrown himself with the greatest enthusiasm into the Nationalist movement. Allnutt's judgment could not go to Andrews' lengths in this matter, though he quite recognizes that changes of method might become necessary. All this he suggests in a further letter to his friend, Mr. Maconachie, written from the ship on his way home for furlough in 1910.

'The present outlook in missionary policy is very critical. We seem to have reached the parting of the ways. . . . I am glad to be withdrawn from the scene of operations for a time that I may be able to think out things in a calm dispassionate way, and for one thing make up my mind how far I am really qualified to deal with the new situation, and if it should seem to be my duty to take the helm again on my return, how best to

attempt . . . to introduce changes which I see to be called for, if we are to rise to the opportunity which the rising aspirations of our Indian brethren are clearly bringing into view.'

A reference in these last words to 'taking up the helm again' and the suggestion that it was not certain that he would do so will show the reader that Allnutt had thoughts of possible resignation at this time.

He was beginning to feel the strain. His memory had been failing him at times—he had declared it was 'like a sieve'—and as we have read he felt at times as though a younger man now would be better as Head.

He was always *ready* to resign (not every one is that !), but time went on, and then of course in 1914 the war came—that great interlude and still greater upsetter of plans—and he stayed on as Head finding just before his death his health unusually good. The following letter must, I am sure, have been written in a fit of the blues —he did not always feel like that, but even so it is meant half-humourously.

To his sister Janet, December, 1909 :

'My epistolary efforts are stamped with the same signs of dotage I fear that mark my efforts in other matters and make people here give me plain hints that my days are numbered ! I too own to the soft impeachment, and then they say "Well even a dotard has his use, stay on, pray, *till*". That's just the rub, till some one's found to relieve me. If he were forthcoming all would say blithely, "You may go". So for the nonce I gird my loins and do my best. The reflection that I have been now thirty years at work, strenuous years

for the most part . . . when I think how many there are who in ten years time out here have accomplished so much more than I am like to do, if I am spared to complete my half century, I am humble enough, only I thank God for what He has permitted me to do and will go on trying to do so long as He permits me. Fain would I be for retiring if I could believe the time has come. The times seem to require a younger man more fully in sympathy with the new India that almost with mushroom growth has come into being, and less wedded to maintain things as they are. And then I reflect that this growing India does not represent the whole case so to say. The India that would remain if the new forces could be eliminated is one in which one who has done his best to get at its spirit and interpret its needs may claim and justify continuance in the efforts one make to supply them.'

We have noted that Allnutt wrote to Mr. Maconachie on his way home for his furlough, April, 1910. This proved to be his last furlough Home. It was rather a sad home-coming, for his father had died just before, thus ending a very long devoted correspondence between father and son, and breaking an intensely strong spiritual influence in Scott Allnutt's life. For a most saintly old man to pass to his rest at the ripe age of ninety-two cannot be called sad, yet there was a somewhat sad side to it as the old man was called on to suffer much at the last—succumbing not to old age but to incapacity to rally after an operation.

'I am on my way home and the journey is shadowed by the knowledge that my home-coming will be so different from what I had looked forward to . . . My

dear father went to his rest last month unable to rally from an operation he had to undergo. As one knew it would be, it was the passing of a saint.'

In concluding this chapter I will gather up a few loose strands belonging to this period. Here is one.

December, 1907—(to his father):

'I am just back from dining with Royalty. Their Royal Highnesses are here' (our present King and Queen) 'and it is a sign of the changed attitude our rulers take in regard to Missions and the humble representatives of the Missionary Church that I was invited as Head of the Mission. As you will see from the list of guests which I enclose the party was selected. I was the only clergyman there. There was a reception of Indian Princes and notables later on, and when most of those present had moved away the Prince came up to me and began talking about the Bishop[1] whom he had met at Lahore and Jammu. He was evidently greatly impressed by his power and spoke of his sermon on Sunday as the best sermon or one of the best he had ever heard, on "Fret Not". Then he went on talking with me quite alone and we had some fifteen minutes conversation till they told him he was wanted in the Durbar Tent, when he shook hands most cordially and to'd me he was glad to have had the pleasure of meeting me! Quite a distinction for your son, was it not? The Princess too came up and was very gracious. We had hoped to have her to lay the foundation-stone of our new hospital, but it could not be arranged and she expressed herself as very much disappointed.'

[1] Bishop Lefroy.

And here are a few miscellaneous extracts belonging to these ten years:

1908.—Opening of new hospitals.

'The Karnal Hospital was opened with great eclat on Tuesday by Miss Müller. It is a great relief to have got one of our two projects launched. *Deo gratias.*'

St. Stephen's Hospital new buildings.—'The opening of the Hospital was most successful . . . Miss Müller has been doing wonders the last few months and all the credit is due to her. All is now done, but the Nurses Block and the Segregation ward. . . . *Deo gratias.*'

1906.—'I have had mutiny to deal with at Gugaon; seventeen boys in open rebellion and when after six hours' negotiations they all caved in, they had to be flogged! It was hard work!'

[Was it of this incident that Allnutt said in a letter home, 'My arm aches and my heart too'?]

1908.—'My clerk is in love and all his work has suffered in consequence. Our Editor-in-chief bulks to me like a hungry animal who has to be kept supplied with provender as it comes to hand, for fear he should break out.'

(From a later letter)—'My clerk has returned wedded, but I am not done with his mistakes due to his pre-occupation in his wedding.'

April, 1907.—'The plague is still raging here, 100 deaths a day, all school work except Girls' Boarding School is at a standstill. The weather is extraordinarily cool—not one hot day yet—this tends to keep the plague virulent. It is the dry heat which usually checks it.'

October, 1907.—'The autumn crops have completely failed and the spring crops cannot be sown. . . . We

have begun relief this month to our poorer paid agents and servants, and it is only a matter of time when we shall have to help our poor Christians in the bastis and at Fatepur.'

1908.—'I have lately been most interested in a novel kind of convert, a Mohammedan Arab from Damascus. He has found his way to the Punjab from Mecca. . . . He says he was drawn to Christ by a dream, and is a singularly simple man. He has had many experiences, including imprisonment (for the Faith) and a long residence in an Roman Catholic monastery in Palestine where, with much superstition, they taught him a great deal of real solid Christianity, making the Nicene Creed the basis of their instruction.'

1902 (or thereabouts).—'The real basis of our soul's life is far far below schools and parties. We can always be one in Christ and *are* one in Him however we may seem to differ. I care less and less for the differences . . . in the essential unity of those who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity.'

1903.—'My dear children at the Industrial School. . . . They call me Pápá.'

CHAPTER VI

THE LAST YEARS

(1910–1917)

As a help towards realizing how various and complex the work of the mission has become in later years, I have endeavoured to obtain as complete a list as possible of all that came under Allnutt's care as the leader of the

mission at this time.[1] Some of the particulars are more fully given in *The Story of the Delhi Mission*, but the work has grown much since 1908 when that book was published.

First we may take the women's work—*The Community of St. Stephen.* This includes—

(1) *St. Stephen's Home*, the central house where the lady head of the Community always lives, and usually some six zenana workers.

(2) *Three Hospitals :*

(*a*) St. Stephen's Hospital, Delhi.

(*b*) Karnal—seventy miles north of Delhi.

(*c*) Rewari Cottage Hospital—about forty miles south-west of Delhi.

(3) *The Girls' Schools :*

(*a*) An industrial school in the suburb of Delhi for the daughters of Chamârs and other poor Christians. They learn chiefly 'the three Rs' and make shoes, gold and silver spangles, etc., cook and do all their own work.

(*b*) *Victoria School* (in the English quarter) for the daughters of Christians of the better class. These work up to the middle standard, and often train as doctors, nurses, dispensers, and teachers.

(*c*) *Queen Mary's School*—mainly for non-Christian, Hindu and Mohammedan girls of the best Delhi families.

[1] For this list and for the comments upon many of the items I am indebted to the Rev. N. C. Marsh, one of the oldest members of the brotherhood.

(*d*) *Non-Christian day schools* in various parts of the city and out-stations.

(4) *A small amount of zenana work*, and teaching and instructing in the homes of the people.

(5) *St. Marys' Home.*—This is a very composite establishment. It is used—

(*a*) As a home for women and girl catechumens of a better class, *or* from distant villages.

(*b*) As an orphanage for babies, boys and girls until they arrive at school age.

The whole community of St. Stephen generally numbers about thirty.

Allnutt was very good at keeping in touch with all the work among Christian women and catechumens, both in towns and villages, and by inspiring and directing the leaders of the community. He was *ex-officio* Warden of the Community and as such was responsible for all arrangements in consultation with the Head of the Community. But in 1913 he reversed this process, viz. in future all arrangements were to be made by the Head of the Community in consultation with the Head of the Mission.[1] His purpose was to give the community, represented by their Head, more independent power in assigning of work.

Then we come to the boys and young men. First and foremost, of course, is St. Stephen's School and College.

Then there is also *The Industrial School* at Gurgaon, about twenty miles from Delhi by rail. Here there

[1] See p. 131.

were at this time about fifty boys, all Christians. A capable Indian head master was in charge, but it necessitated frequent visits from the Head of the Mission for business, in connection with the industries, direction of the teaching, and matters of discipline.

Allnutt was very fond of these boys; he was always so kind and tender-hearted, he settled them in business, etc., and started or encouraged the formation of preaching bands of the master and elder boys in the neighbouring villages; he prepared the boys for confirmation himself, and paid a regular monthly visit latterly for Sunday services.

So we come naturally next to the more distinctly *Pastoral work*, especially among the Chamârs or shoemaking community in Delhi, which we may call the basti work.

'Basti' means one of the different hamlets in the city and suburbs of Delhi where the poorer Chamâr Christians lived. Perhaps there would be fifty or sixty or 100 Christians in one of these bastis, but besides that a very large number of adherents with leanings towards Christianity, perhaps younger members of families, sometimes Christians, and in many ways half attached to the Mission.

Allnutt seems to have had a particular aptitude for this work, and though the separate members of the brotherhood had districts they constantly had recourse to him for advice.

Marsh took charge of one of the larger bastis during Allnutt's furlough. Rather serious quarrels had arisen. Marsh remembers how Allnutt one night soon after his return came down and collected together all the men

Christians of the district (who form the panchayet or local council). By his extreme insight and tact he got from them particulars of all their various grievances and suspicions, and all were allowed to pour forth their complaints; and this went on till nearly two in the morning, by which time he had been able—after patiently listening—so fairly to adjudicate as to bring about a complete reconciliation between the chief opponents and establish such harmony as had not been possible during his absence.

He did a great deal to develop basti congregations. Two weekly services were held in each of these bastis, either in school or in warm weather, sitting on the ground outside.

The Christian Agricultural Colony at Fatepur was another activity to which Allnutt devoted much time. The mission acquired land and colonised it. Allnutt went out to settle their land questions and advise about irrigating, etc. It was an experiment in giving land to those who had none of their own.

Allnutt had at least a monthly visit to make to out-stations, such as Karnal, Rohtak, and Rewari, and various contingencies often necessitated sudden calls for his presence, such as mud-houses falling, quarrels, law suits, etc. In this he was very successful owing to his knowledge of the individuals and his knowledge of character.

The following account of a visit paid to Allnutt's basti by the Rev. St. Clair G. H. Donaldson, now Bishop of Salisbury, in the course of a visit to the Cambridge Mission to Delhi in 1901, may be given here.

Mr. Donaldson says:—

'Attached to each basti is a schoolroom, where services are held on Sundays and Thursdays; and a basti mission-service is a thing to be remembered. One day I attended Mr. Allnutt's at the Kalan Masjid basti. The mission room was a shed, open on one side to the air. At one end was a table and a stool (not new); from a central beam hung a lantern, and that was all the furniture of the place; for folk sit on the ground in India, and not many can read or write. We arrived as they were standing for the Creed. After that they squatted, about forty adults all told, swathed in their blankets; while the catechist, a warm hearty man, gave a short address. To our right and centre as we faced them were the Christians; to the left, just inside, were the enquirers and heathen. After the address we all sat on, while Mr. Allnutt chatted kindly to his flock individually but publicly. For you do not observe ceremonies in a basti, and everybody knows everybody's else's business. Alluding to something which had been said of temptation overcome, he pointed to a man, and calling him by name said, "That is for you, you know; God can raise you out of that grievous sin and suffering of yours, and give you a new heart." Before the whole congregation, conceive it in England! There could not be a more touching proof of the trust and affection of the people for their spiritual father. After all, twenty-three years' work has its visible rewards.'

Perhaps next to his educational work Allnutt's strongest point was his power as a spiritual consultant 'dealing with individual souls' as some might phrase it, though his help and sympathy was extended to every part of their being. He knew every Christian in Delhi.

They would come into his room with their woes. He was often side-tracked off his work in hand by those who came to consult him and he always gave his whole attention to people. It appears that through his kind-heartedness he was not seldom taken in by the unscrupulous.

In the list of what came before him as Head of the Mission, the affairs of the Brotherhood may stand next.

The *Brotherhood Councils* should be mentioned. These were held monthly, when everything affecting the Brotherhood houses and work was settled.

Allnutt was very anxious that these Councils should be 'democratized' and Mr. Marsh tells of his selflessness and of how he never forced his opinion on others when he saw that they thought differently as a whole. At the end he became conscious that the younger men were moving on faster than himself, and he showed great humility in the way in which he forced himself into an attitude of sympathy with their ideas.

The *Quarterly Quiet Days* should also be noted, and the weekly Bible readings. In these latter it was his own spiritual outlook and scholarship that kept the others together and retained their interest. The annual Retreats have already been mentioned.

There were also the Mission Councils monthly, at which the general business on the men's side of the work was dealt with, and the Community Councils.

As head, Allnutt had also, of course, to exercise a general supervision over the Indian Christian community, which was growing continually larger.

He showed his foresight in the care and importance which he assigned to this work, realizing that the Indian Christian community will be the chief means in the future of evangelizing the whole country.

Allnutt's loving care for his Indian fellow-Christians of all social grades and his unfailing interest in their welfare was a marked feature of his work. So closely did he and they feel united together, and in such a simple homely way that when old Mr. Allnutt died—far away in England—the Indian Christians of the Mission, not contented with sympathizing with their dear Pastor on the spot, wrote a touching letter of sympathy to his brother (The Rev. M. R. Allnutt), the burden of which was the spiritual union of all Christians 'the one relationship which is indissoluble, and it is the only one which will last for ever'. The letter was signed

'JANKI NATH AND THE CHRISTIANS
OF THE S.P.G. AND THE C.M.D.'

The Rev. J. C. Chatterjee sends me a note bearing upon the subject we are considering. Mr. Chatterjee belongs to a well-known Punjab Christian family. He is an old student of the college, who joined the staff of the High School since about 1907, and has been its Principal since 1914. He writes:

'Perhaps the most remarkable feature about Canon Allnutt was the wonderful way in which he had completely identified himself with the people among whom and for whom he spent the best part of his life. I distinctly remember his having told me more than once that he actually felt much more at home at the house of

some of his Indian Christian friends than he did in official English society. Very often even the English missionary, in his social relations with his flock of Indian fellow-workers, gives one the idea that he does it more as a point of duty and can hardly disguise a certain amount of feeling of boredom. With Canon Allnutt one always felt that if he came to dinner or to a wedding, even to the humbler members of his flock, he thoroughly enjoyed it, and that they enjoyed his being there. One could always go to him and open one's heart and he seemed to understand and always had sympathy to give.

'I have known of several Indian Christians of very good social standing in life, who, by their wills, made him rather than near relations, guardians of their children and family. . . . When he started work and even when he had attained to the headship of the mission, the English missionary was very much the leader and the ruler of the Indian Church, and of his own particular flock and mission, and it could not have been easy for a man to pilot things so successfully as he did when the time came when the feeling for freedom and absolute equality became the main cry of the Indian Christian Church.

'It was due in a very great measure to his broad-mindedness that some of the first appointments of Indian Christian workers were made to positions which gave them real responsibility, and even the oversight of the work of some of their English colleagues.

'Yet one saw what genuine pleasure it gave him to make those appointments when he knew he ought to make them; his position as a trusted and much beloved

leader was all the more noticeable when one saw the contrast between him and some of his contemporaries, who, although they had done splendid work for the Church in earlier days, were men who seemed so out of sympathy with and behind the times.'

A brief mention may be made of several other Indian Christians who were in one way or another specially intimate with Allnutt.

Mr. Khub Ram, who is now a professor in the College (under Professor Rudra, to whom reference has been made in a previous chapter), is one of the few who can be pointed out as definite converts from St. Stephen's College. When he was a student he became very intimate with Allnutt as an enquirer about Christianity, and there are many affectionate references to him in Allnutt's correspondence of that period. He was ultimately baptized in England by the Mirfield Brothers.

The Rev. S. Ghose, Vicar of St. Stephen's Church, is also one of whom Allnutt speaks affectionately in many of his letters.

Three veteran Indian Christians, converts of the early days of the Delhi Mission, should be mentioned together, viz. Pandit Janki Nath, The Rev. Tara Chand and Mr. Chandu Lal.[1] With each of these Allnutt was on intimate terms.

Pandit Janki Nath was for many years Head Master of St. Stephen's High School. Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton writes of Allnutt's 'close and affectionate relations with

[1] Particulars of the early life of all these is given in *The Story of the Delhi Mission*, Chapter II.

Pandit Janki Nath and his large family, of which when the twelfth was born he replied to Allnutt's congratulations, that while he had not been permitted to bring about many direct conversions, he thanked the Lord who had enabled him to increase the Church in this way.'

Janki Nath started or took a prominent part in a club in which the missionaries and the leading Indian Christians used to meet and discuss theological and missionary topics with friendly frankness.

Mr. Chandu Lal was closely associated with the mission not only in his own person but through his daughter, who is the wife of Mr. S. N. Mukerji, a valued present member of the College staff. Allnutt used to quote Mr. Chandu Lal as an example of a man who had become so used to the original translation of the *Prayer Book* in Urdu, that he protested against the idea of an Indianized *Prayer Book* and even preferred the version of the Psalms as it was then to a much better translation of more recent years.

The Rev. Tara Chand,[1] who has recently died, exercised his ministry in Delhi and afterwards in Ajmir for many years. His eldest daughter was the first Indian lady to belong to the Community of St. Stephen. She died in 1899. Mr. Tara Chand's death 'has removed one of the last of those whose lives span the entire space between the earliest days of the Delhi Mission and the present.'

Mention should also be made of Rajah Sir Harnam Singh, one of the leading Indian Christians of the

[1] For a sketch of his life, see *Delhi*, October, 1920.

Punjab, who was among Allnutt's closest friends, and with whom he often used to stay for holidays at Simla. It was a very great pleasure to Allnutt that Kunwar Maharaj Singh, one of Sir Harnam Singh's sons, was resident in Delhi, serving under the Government of India during the war for a couple of years before Allnutt's death, and gave a good deal of help in mission business, becoming a member of the Mission Council.

The happy relationship of the Delhi Mission with other Christian workers must not be left unrecorded.

During the latery ears of Allnutt's life the leading English and Indian Christian missionaries of all denominations met together for prayer month by month. Allnutt took a leading part in starting this movement, the happy result was that quite a new spirit of comradeship arose, showing itself in practical comity, e.g. different workers came to terms with one another by consulting together and so preventing overlapping.

A close friendship existed between Allnutt and the Rev. S. S. Thomas of the Baptist Mission.

Mr. Thomas writes :

'I could write a great deal about the dear old Canon and my long and varied connection with him, and every word would be warmly affectionate and true. . . . During a quarter of a century acquaintance ripened into friendship which remained firm and loyal to the last, and which made an increasing measure of co-operation between our two Missions (S.P.G. and Baptist) not only possible, but a mutual joy. We maintained the opinions wherein we differed without bitterness and shared our agreements with much delight. Co-operation in educational matters has borne rich

fruit in the Baptist Church. To it we owe, amongst many other blessings, the equipment of our invaluable missionary, the Rev. Joel Waiz Lall, M.A., M.O.L., who was the first Baptist boy sent to the Cambridge Mission High School, and who subsequently graduated from St. Stephen's College. Mr. Lall is now worthily honoured by being invited by the British and Foreign Bible Society to act as Chief Reviser of the Urdu Old Testament—an honour which would have been as enthusiastically appreciated by the Canon as it is by myself. . . Delhi owes to Allnutt a big debt and many many Indians know it.'

A factor which is bound to loom large in the catalogue of the duties of the Head of a great Mission is the purely administrative and financial work. It is possible that Allnutt was less successful on the business side of his work than in any other of his varied duties. He did it, but he obviously did it with difficulty. The machine of his mind groaned and creaked considerably over finance.

Allnutt's long series of letters to the Rev. C. E. F. Stafford give us an insight into his duties of administration and the heavy burden they often were to him.

Our picture of Allnutt's life would be quite incomplete without a few extracts, taken almost at random, from the great pile of these business letters to Mr. Stafford. The quotations are given not so much for their intrinsic interest but in order to show the sort of work and calls which insistently and continuously demanded the attention of the leader of the mission. The most recurring subject of these letters is, naturally, the missionary's normal cry—more workers and more money—and

please make haste! Other recurring topics are the preparation of reports and copy for the quarterly magazine, the coming and going of members of the mission, their furloughs, their health, and the shifting them about like the pieces on a chess-board in order to make the most of their service under that normal condition of things in the mission field, viz. shortage of staff.

The following extracts are mostly from letters of the years 1906–1909 or 1910, but the exact date is immaterial for our present purpose.

'It is already midnight and I was taken up from 10 a.m with a wretched business forced on me and demanding prompt measures so that I cannot manage a letter.'

(He does so, however.)

'This week has been crowded with anxious cases of sickness. A— has got bad again. Miss B— is causing us much anxiety. . . . She too has been sent to the hills.'

(Difficulty of getting doctors.)

'Miss Müller is hard pressed, if relief does not come I fear she will break down. I wonder if there is any chance of a doctor being sent out at once. . . . We have tried everywhere in India and so far without result. We cannot get even a superior Indian Surgeon. So unless help comes from India or Ireland I fear there will be a collapse such as we have never had, and that with the two new hospitals needing all the energy that can be commanded to work them.'

'We are getting normal again. A— has returned to Delhi. B— will go *D.V.* on Saturday. C— leaves today. The ladies too are on the mend : but it is clear all the last three new-comers are delicate and it will be an anxiety. This climate is a trial!'

'I suppose S.P.G. will be sending some money this month or I shall be sore put about next month. Send me any you can spare as soon as you can, please.'

'. . . Expect me to work without funds or men. I fear I am getting cranky and testy in my old age, but the strain is great.'

'The M.M. cannot be worked with a less staff than four qualified doctors; if the fourth doctor cannot be found it will make it practically impossible for me as Head of the Mission to work the hospitals. All other parts of the work *can* get along with a shortage of workers. The M.M. *cannot*, because when furloughs come (as they will in a year or two), then there will be a deadlock.

'The fourth doctor I claim *must*, somehow or other, be provided.'

'The funds are *very* low. To-day I found to my horror that we had overdrawn our account. I have sold out Rs. —— which I put by in January, but that is the limit of my net resources.'

'I must change my clerk and get a better type of man. . . . The heavy burden of responsibility in regard to mission accounts and all the many business details which are so petty in themselves and yet cumulatively of so much importance. . . . It is hard to know where to retrench.'

'Miss A— is ill. Miss B— is "Ai". Miss C— seems to be shaping fairly well. Miss D— cannot hit it off with Miss E—.'

'The news from C.W.W. is splendid. Miss X's salary secured for five years, and Miss Y to come out at once. *Deo gratias.* How I feel rebuked for my want of faith.'

'You must not be hard on me just now! I have run down so that for three weeks past I have only done my work at the point of the bayonet so to say. . . . Thank you very heartily again for all that you have been to the Mission and done for it since you became our Secretary . . . you have been . . . an indispensable factor in our home organization.'

The above quotations may give some idea of the less inspiring side of Allnutt's work in the latter years. If the anxious note—sometimes almost querulous—is frequent as he lets himself go over his financial and other anxieties and pours out his troubles to his friend, the cheerful note is not wanting either, and the *Deo gratias*, which is sure to be inserted when good news of progress or relief from some difficulty is recorded.

While at home on what proved to be his last furlough he had to consult a specialist, and writing from Guildford in 1911 to Mr. Talbot Baines, he says:

'I promised to tell you what the Doctor's verdict about me is. Briefly it is that if I take six months' *entire* rest he holds out every hope that I shall recover brain power enough to justify my resuming my position on my return. . . . As it is a matter of living mentally at magazine level for six months you can understand it is not very palatable to me! But for the work's sake, I must even submit.'

So in due course he returned to work, taking his 'entire rest' in a voyage to the Cape *en route*; and we have seen him at work in the varied duties described in the preceding pages.

In 1914 the war broke upon the world, so profoundly altering everything in course of time, and yet at the

time apparently leaving everything which was not immediately affected *in statu quo.*

As we all know that vast upheaval was singularly slow at first to affect the ordinary course of daily life except in its immediate vicinity. At least it was so at home. We are feeling its effects far more in many respects now than when it was raging. Possibly it was thus in India also. At any rate the war does not figure very largely in Allnutt's letters of 1914 to 1917. It is, I think, very probable that he would have resigned before 1917 had public affairs been normal, as it was, there was no 'swapping horses in the midst of the stream' and he stayed on at his post. In 1915, in the course of a letter to the Rev. Cyril Mayhew, he says:

'. . . God is able to supply the place of those whom we are apt to think indispensable. I am myself learning this. I have recently handed over the position of Vicar of St. Stephen's which I held for fourteen years to Hibbert-Ware, who has returned to us from the South . . . I have plenty still to occupy me, and in my declining years it is clearly best I should seek thus gradually to prepare the way for retirement.'

From a letter of sympathy to Archdeacon Griffith:

'I am staying out probably for the term of the war, for I don't think I could do much good at home, and my health has been so good that as when I do take furlough (now due to me) it probably means retirement, I am in no hurry to go naturally! . . . We are reduced in numbers, but are able to hold on, both in men's and women's work, especially as so much is now handed over to Indians. Not only School and College Principalships, but charge of all the pastoral work of Delhi.'

In a letter of May, 1916, to Mr. Talbot Baines, written on a voyage to Singapore, we read :

'I am on my way to visit Bishop Ferguson Davie at Singapore . . . I have left Delhi very undermanned and I had felt rather selfish in going, but that they assure me they can quite well manage without me ! not flattering to one's conceit, but admirably suited to mollify one's conscience.'

'As I think you know I have handed over the financial burden of the Mission to Western . . . and the care of the parish to Hibbert-Ware. Another devolution has been to reverse the relation between the Head of the Mission and Head of the Community who has now taken over the responsible charge of the ladies' work. . . . Having disburdened myself so much you may be led to wonder how I fill up a day ! Well somehow the day *is* always very full up, and *I* wonder how I did get along when I had all the other burdens on my shoulder, not being an Atlas to bear them ! One thing is patent. *Now* the work is being efficiently done, which was only *got through* before, both in the office and in the parish, and the way for retirement when the right time comes is being gradually prepared as now no one great burden will fall on any one man's shoulders.

We now come to the year 1917—the last year of Allnutt's life.

From another letter to Talbot Baines :

'. . . The future seems in many ways very dark I am infected somewhat by Scott Holland's monthly dirge in " The Commonwealth " and my forebodings do not take on so much fear about the war itself, and its certainty of final victory, as its *aftermath*. . . .

Hedonistic tendencies seem far too strong at present, partly no doubt due to the very force of the tremendous seriousness of the situation and in reaction from it. But do you think that as tested, e.g. by the average tone of the company you have in your railway journeys to town, making all due allowance for the strain, people are at all adequately realizing that response to God's call to us after the war, is that by which we shall be judged? "Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide," etc., you will recall Lowell's lines.'

To R. Maconachie, January 21, 1917:

'. . . It cannot, I expect, be much longer before I retire from my present sphere of work. . . . Many things make it clear that I ought to resign. Whether after my next furlough I shall do well to return—*rude donatus*—I can't yet say. . . . My Bishop is very strongly in favour of my return, not as Head of the Mission. That post, he is clear, I should retire from, but as a sort of odd job man who could spend his last years in a sort of busy idleness. Meanwhile life is very busy.'

To the same, October, 1917:

'. . . I find seventeen boys, old and present, have gone from our school here to serve in the war in one capacity or another which is as it should be.'

To his brother, August, 1917:

'We were informed that the mail of July 7 had been sunk. (Later) I am told it was announced that this mail had escaped and arrived. . . . There is such a tendency nowadays to talk of democracy as a panacea for all evils that the warning note is much called for, lest we come to believe that as a matter of course,

people left to govern themselves, being freed from the tyranny of absolutism, would be sure always to do the right thing.

'Russia cannot, it is true, be quoted to the contrary for they have not had time yet to win through all the inevitable difficulties that beset a nation at once confronted with the gigantic task of governing themselves. But China and young Turkey are cases in point. How especially in the latter case every one was inclined to think Turkey was at last set on the way to freedom, etc. In the Races Congress I attended in 1911 a Turk and an Armenian fell on one another's necks and great was the applause! Then the sequel!'

The following is the latest letter I have, and it is nearly his last letter home, as it is dated November 2, 1917. It is full of life and, especially in a part which I cannot well quote, full of fun. I will give the first part verbatim.

'CAMBRIDGE MISSION, DELHI.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I missed last mail as I had to go off suddenly just as I was going to write to take the funeral of one of our girl-teachers at Rewari, such a dear good child she was, and so lost my chance. "After missing so many previous ones" you say, well, I keep no diary or note of letter-dates, so have not the faintest notion when I last wrote. It was some little time ago I admit! Now I have got a few minutes after a very hard day. Literally not a moment off; constant round of business from 9 a.m. save for the welcome interval for meditation and prayer at 3 p.m. I sometimes wish you could *see* me at work.

You'd find a lot to criticize, as did Jethro in his son-in-law! But the variety would strike you. I can't complain of monotony! Apart from letter-writing (now almost entirely through my clerk in short-hand) and such like, there are the postulants, as I may call them, who have some favour to ask; then the enquirers—the last who came several times and then disappeared, a man who was persuaded our faith must be the true one, because it is conducive to peace and concord. (I had to explain that this *ought* to be one chief outcome of our Faith but, alas! was often sadly lacking as events in Europe only too plainly showed.) Then a wife whose husband is at Baghdad to ask me to get her maintenance from him. Then a contractor to be settled up with for lots of walls and roofs brought down by the late heavy rains. Then a father with a ne'er-do-well boy to be got into order, and a new career sketched out for him! Then our two Christian servants to be interviewed for quarrelling, and a reconciliation to be effected. Then several youths pleading for letters to recommend them to various offices, etc. for work. Then a Christian boy let out of the Reformatory after five years there to be sent back to our school at Gurgaon where he was before and was turned out for thieving, and so on and all in one day! The thing to be thankful for is that I am so well with it all. I should add that in stray intervals during the day I was busy preparing a lecture for the ladies on Hindu worship of ancestors; *à propos* of All-Saints' Day and the devotion of the Hindus to the memory of their ancestors. Full of superstition but without instruction, as a testimony to the instinct thereby discovered as latent in man,

guiding it to seek out and invent ways of keeping touch with departed ones, often weird and strange, marred by self-regarding elements. Still a witness to the power of the unseen world.'

This chapter may conclude with a few further extracts from letters upon subjects whose interest makes them independent of dates.

Criticism of two books and reflections arising therefrom :

(1) ' I suppose you have read Sheldon's book " In His Steps ". The fact that 4,000,000 copies have been sold must, I think, mean a great deal. There is no great genius displayed, but the being forced to face the issue involved in the question " What Would Jesus Do ? " applied to modern life must be a wholesome as it is a much-needed prick to nineteenth century worldliness, and that spirit of going with the times, especially in business matters which is so prevalent. I doubt whether the question is always a sound one however. Our Lord's example in general gives us principles to go by, but He could never have meant that his action should be mechanically followed, as, e.g. when in the exercise of His Messianic authority He made a whip of cords and drove the hucksters out of the temple. If we were as ministers called to face a like situation, what would it be our own duty to do ? Not *that*, I presume. Similarly in the destruction of the swine, however we explain that difficult transaction ; still the gain is enormous that such myriads of Christians and especially in America should have been forced to face the issue, whether Christ's example is capable of being taken as a standard for one's lives now, when society has so largely

been organized on purely utilitarian lines, which exclude the possibility of any *imitatio Christi*.'

(2) 'I devoted my spare time on Sunday to reading Russell's life. Much in it I got good from . . . and though the abundant Halleluias grate rather, there is a reality in the life that strikes home and well repays perusal of it. But why at the outset a man who gave up his whole time and means to horse racing, etc., should ever have been able to suppose he was leading a Christian life, beats me. *No* school would ever encourage that idea! Nowadays at least, not even when he was a young man.'

From the middle of a letter to his father:

'(Interrupted) alas! two Gurgaon industrial boys have come in and taken up all my time. I had better just tell you about it that you may judge what sad things I have to engage in. One is my shoemaker, a good honest young man. His coat has been stolen by the Hindu tailor of our shop. Before I left Gurgaon on Tuesday I told the Superintendent I would be glad if the man could get off and the owner should decline if he could to prosecute. What does he do but advise him to deny the coat to be his! A futile lie, for, of course, it will do the tailor no good, poor man. Now if the owner (my shoemaker) tells the Superintendent that I am angry at his conduct in advising him *from me* to lie, he is sure to lie and say he never told him to deny that the coat is his! And yet when the case comes in he must tell the truth, I tell him, come what may. How complicated it is. "What a tangled web we weave," etc. The other is a nice lad just made a teacher. He had to be punished by me here only yesterday for an offence and

since then he has altered an account from Rs. 5 to Rs. 3 with intent to pocket the Rs. 2 for himself. He is found out and was sent in to confess and be punished. Oh! it is grievous.'

The following also illustrates the difficult decisions which had often to be made :—

'At our Council this morning we had to sit in judgment on a catechist who, by taking his son's part in a quarrel in which he was entirely in the wrong, has put himself in the wrong too; and then writes to resign because he says he has found out that all of us Padres are an evil set of men selfish and inconsiderate. Fortunately our native members came to the rescue and worded a resolution which will make the man sit up when he hears it, and will either bring him to his senses or, as we fear, confirm him in his folly. He has been thirty years, he says, in mission employ, and that is the finale! Is it not sad and pitiable? There was literally nothing in the row which could not have been settled in a trice if the father had told his son to apologize to the missionary he had defied; his pride would not let him do this and to justify himself he has taken up this absurd position, which compels us to take the thing up *au serieux*.'

Criticism of the policy of baptizing without sufficient preparation (early in 1898) :

'We have an Urdu New Testament Revision Committee sitting at Delhi now and two of the men are quartered with us. They are both leading American Episcopal Methodists.

'This is the denomination which is going in so much for "mass' baptisms. Single native agents in their

mission often baptize several thousands in one year. They baptized in the North-West Province alone some 23,000 last year. We are glad to be brought into contact with two of their leading men. Disagreeing with the method they adopt and yet seeing them to be earnest and able men, we are anxious to learn all we can of their ways of work, and hear how they justify them. So far it has not tended to shake our belief in the unsoundness of this system. . . . It is certainly strange that they and perhaps the Salvationists are the only bodies whose work leads to these astonishing results. Are they more full of faith? Are they on sounder lines than we and other bodies? One thing is clear: they alone *expect* a moiety of real conversions *plus* the *children* out of all the hundreds they baptize. It is somewhat the same method as was pursued in Fiji. But from all I hear the later experience of work there has not proved satisfactory. They have a nominal roll of nearly all the natives, but sadly few out-and-out Christians. On the whole one is inclined to believe we must go quietly on and abide God's time for the ingathering.'

The following account of a happy Whitsuntide baptism, not indeed of thousands, but of tens, may be appropriately given here:

'We had a very happy time at Whitsuntide, sixteen adult baptisms mostly villagers from Fatepur . . . it was the influence of the native teacher which has, by God's blessing, been the chief means of bringing them in. On Sunday evening we had the baptism of the children, some twelve or so in all, with some from the hospital, the waifs and strays that are from time to time left to us. One was a deserted child found in the font! Another a

child whom I have adopted—the daughter of a Christian who had married her to a heathen in infancy, but the husband did not want her and gladly allowed her to be released on payment of a consideration.' Upon this subject the Rev. G. Hibbert-Ware says :

'A very noticeable thing about Allnutt in his general mission policy was his extreme cautiousness about baptizing. I think he sometimes carried it too far ; but I believe in the early days of the Brotherhood they had had some sad experiences. He was extraordinarily scrupulous in his anxiety not to take advantage of the teacher's position in pressing a pupil to take this final and irrevocable step lest he should override the just claims of the boy's father and relations. He would urge the pupil to make his decision known to his family and to trust in God for the strength to stand against the terrible pressure that would certainly be brought to bear upon him from that side. The strain was sometimes more than a young man could bear. At the least it put him into a very hard position. But Allnutt always reckoned and rightly so, that the faith that could come through such an ordeal would be all the better for it. But he held it a point of honour to take this line with those who had, as he argued, been placed in such an intimate relation to him by their parents when they were put into the College.'

The following notes on suffering were written by Allnutt to his god-daughter during the period of the war. The letter is incomplete.

'[Nothing ?] in the teaching now so much in vogue as to the ultimate purpose of God in regard to pain and suffering (that it is not part of His original and cannot

therefore be part of His ultimate purpose for us His children) can affect the significance of our Church's teaching as set forth in the words I refer to. Since Christ, the Son of God, suffered and through suffering won His perfection as Man, it is my privilege when I suffer to know that by suffering I can be conformed to His likeness. If suffering *should* ever in the progress of medical science, be removed from the world, then as such removal is clearly in accordance with God's will, He will reveal other ways than these of *personal* suffering by which His end can be attained But *now*, as things are, that Will lovingly declares to His children that we should win *our* perfection through suffering. The epistle to the Hebrews consecrates this teaching for us. May God in his loving mercy reveal this to you, my dear Winifred, as His Will for you. That is what I have been prompted to write to you.'

CHAPTER VII

CHARACTERISTICS AND IMPRESSIONS

IN the history books of our childish days the lives of the Sovereigns used to be given under sections 'wars,' 'policy,' 'issue,' and the like, and at the end one arrived at the heading 'character,' which was confidently summed up in half-a-dozen sentences. In these days we realize that 'character' is too subtle a subject for such treatment. Characteristics, however, may go some way towards suggesting character.

Tennyson used to say that the proverb, 'Every man imputes himself,' was about the truest saying he knew,

and indeed from what we see that a man unconsciously expects to find in others we may often learn what he is in himself. That a man's letters reveal himself is also frequently true, but not always. Allnutt's letters do I think reveal himself, since he wrote as he thought and spoke. One can see that in most of his letters he scribbled off his thoughts rapidly and naturally. Nor are his letters wanting in the lighter touch. Though the subject-matter of most of them is intense, a dry humour peeps out somewhere or other more often than not.

Almost all Allnutt's friends insist on his strong sense of humour. The reader may not find much evidence of this quality in this memoir, but it was certainly a trait of Allnutt's character, though difficult to reproduce in 'cold print'. Look and manner go for so much. One or two small incidents or anecdotes are given in this chapter for the sake of those who knew Allnutt personally, and the general reader will accept them as at any rate human, if not particularly humorous.

A propos of this subject, Mr. W. Troth Williams (one of the Delhi staff) writes:

'Several times between 1914 when I went to Delhi, and Allnutt's death, I asked him why he never wrote his reminiscences. He had such a ready wit and was such a pleasing story-teller when he got going which was not often. He was too busy, and as a result the world is likely to hear of his work as a missionary and to be ignorant of him as a man.

'Is it possible in writing his life to do something to bring this latter side into prominence? We all suffer so much from the fact that we in the Field are looked

on as dreary people whose sole reason for existence is the propagation of the Gospel " to the *Heathen* ".

' I have heard many people who knew Allnutt say " What a charming man he must have been when young and for that matter is now " and there is no doubt that it is that side of his character which did much to bridge over the differences between Europeans and Indians, and if we all had his powers Europeans generally would learn to think better of the missionary, and incidentally of the Indians as well. At present ignorance is largely the mother of suspicion.'

Mr. Williams gives us the following incidents or anecdotes among his recollections of Allnutt :—

' I was once preaching (Allnutt said) on the banks of the Jamna at Delhi and was trying to explain the meaning of " sin " to a crowd largely composed of religious people who were going to and fro from bathing. A Brahman interrupted and said that if one did not believe in sin, there was no such thing as sin, and people were mightily impressed by the words of their champion. I noticed (said Allnutt) from the man's speech that he was a villager, and also observed that round his leg was tied a piece of cloth to form a bandage. I asked him why he had come to Delhi and he answered, " Because I have a boil on my leg and am going to the hospital for treatment," to which I retorted, " If you say to yourself, a boil is nothing ; I haven't got a boil, well you haven't." The crowd rejoiced at my answer, and the man went away immediately crest fallen.' . . .

. . . ' Another story of his was that when attending some big dinner in Bombay he was deputed to take in to dinner a certain lady who was very painted up and

rouged. Conversation did not flow very easily between the two, and the lady suddenly exclaimed, " Canon Allnutt, you don't seem to like me," to which he retorted, " No, but I'm trying to ! " '

He said that he often dreamed in India that he was going to marry ; an Anglo-Indian was the girl, but the dream always vanished at the same point, ' How could he be married in a *cassock* ! '

After remarking upon Allnutt's powers as a good talker—' If we had any first-rate Englishman to dinner Allnutt talked, and by far outshone other people '—and upon his shrewdness in judging character, Mr. Williams says :

' The last I remember of Allnutt is that some of the poor in one of his bastis in Delhi wanted to honour him by getting the municipality to allow a road leading to their basti to be called " Allnutt Street ". These people, however, could not get at the full English word, and so the street was called the nearest some of them could get to his name " aōut," i.e. " camel ". Allnutt said, " When at school they called me ' camel,' and now people do the same thing here ". '

Mr. Talbot Baines is another friend who begs that Allnutt's sense of humour may be emphasised in the account of his life. He says :

' It was, as was natural, very markedly observable in his young days at Cambridge. . . . But it remained with him through life. Notwithstanding all his cares, which, of course, grew in weight as the years went by . . . he was always ready to see the lighter side of topics, however high and serious, on which we talked together. He was always in the best sense of the word

" good company ". His happy laughter was refreshing to hear . . . whenever it was called forth in congenial society.'

Perhaps Allnutt's humour consisted partly in the fact that he could say amusing things in a very serious voice. On one of his furloughs when staying at his home I remember we were enjoying strawberries and cream and a silence fell upon the company as we made the elaborate preparations necessary for the complete enjoyment of that combination. When Allnutt had completed his own preparations he looked up and said, ' And now for a few brief moments of heaven ! ' His friends will realize the way he would jerk his head back as he said it.

Once in his Cambridge days his brother and he had trespassed on the railway line near Tonbridge in endeavouring to make a short cut, when an official met them and began to scold them for their trespass. Martyn told me that Scott quite non-plussed and silenced the official by asking in a very solemn voice, ' But can you kindly tell us the best way to get off again ? '

There is one amusing story which seems to have much impressed itself on the brotherhood, as I have several editions of it. Canon Cunningham's version runs thus :

' Impressions are I find one thing and recollections quite another. For example, a most vivid recollection of any single incident is entirely out of all proportion to its importance, and I can see the dear man utterly worn out by a long day's work somewhat laboriously entertaining an army officer to dinner, falling asleep in his chair and waking up with a start to say, " Oh, I am sorry,

are you still here!" (Another version puts it more bluntly. . . . He ejaculated gruffly, "Hallo! You still here."

'It was the long strain of work which brought about the infirmities of falling asleep in his chair at times and his loss of memory—though this latter never affected his intellectual powers.'

Mr. Kelley says:

'A certain absent-mindedness which was at times apparent in him sometimes produced embarrassing results. A Vigil at the Mission was a day on which we never invited guests to dinner, as we had neither meat nor sweets on those occasions, and so on one such evening we were all dismayed to find our Deputy Commissioner appear in full dress and we had nothing substantial to set before him. It was fortunate for him that there was a railway restaurant a little way down the road, whither he was observed to go as soon as he could decently take leave of us. It turned out that Allnutt, who was himself out on the occasion, had inadvertently asked him for the wrong day and forgotten the appointment.'

Mr. Kelley goes on to tell of another occasion when in a fit of absent-mindedness Allnutt introduced Bishop Barry to his own wife, and how the Bishop quietly remarked, 'I think we have met before?'

The following note from Bishop Montgomery, for so long the well-known Secretary of the S.P.G., illustrates Allnutt's reality of character and simplicity of life:—

'Samuel Scott Allnutt came to our Hobart Church Congress in 1894 when I was Bishop of Tasmania. I remember how in one of his addresses he urged the importance of reality in reports sent home by

missionaries. He held, and all workers abroad will agree with him, that nothing goes home to the heart more than a statement of facts. Business men are not deterred by confessions of failure. They know too much of life. One quotation from Allnutt's paper is worthy of special record. "I recall the fact that once at Simla, our summer capital in India, where you have listening to you as thoughtful and intelligent a congregation as you will find in any church in the world, a sermon preached by one of our men, which was a perfect Jeremiah in its almost pessimistic utterances, made such an impression that more than Rs. 1,000 were contributed that day, about double the ordinary collection given to us." In 1913 I watched Allnutt at work one day in his simply-furnished room, bare almost to excess. There he sat, an ideal missionary, almost too careless of comfort, perfectly happy, surrounded by his Indian assistants. It was beautiful. A man transparently good, genuine, devoted, absolutely and wholly happy, desiring nothing but to finish his course in his beloved Delhi, a life rounded off and perfect in its simple outlook as a servant of Jesus Christ.'

Reverting to Canon Cunningham's notes:

'Allnutt had no idea of how to take care of himself; he was always overworking up to the point of breaking down; he had, moreover, no idea of comfort; his room was chaotic; cigars were, I think, the only indulgence he allowed himself; he was constantly being imposed upon because he had in undue proportion the charity that thinketh no evil. But his defects were in themselves loveable, provided one did not have business relationship with them!'

This discomfort of his room[1] is indeed mentioned by most of his friends. For instance, Mr. Hibbert-Ware says :

'One could not enter his room without seeing that he cared nothing about his personal comfort. It was a comfortless room. The one thing that must have charmed him or any one of like tastes was the collection of books that filled all the available space of the walls, and were generally piled liberally on the floor and elsewhere. His shelves were always full. He made room for new books by giving away the old ones. He had, at one time, a large number on English literature and some relating to Hinduism that I believe it would not be easy to get.'

The present Bishop of Lahore says :

'His dark and comfortless room, in the old mission house where he lived and worked all those years, was the resort of every Indian Christian in Delhi who was in trouble or need. I have never been in there without finding him busy with some one, from a child in tears to a widow in poverty or a man out of work. They came to him for counsel and help as the birds fly home at evening. One of the Christians at Delhi to whom I talked on my last visit a year ago summed it up, I thought, very well in the picture form that clothes thought so naturally in India : "Ah Sahib, he is a grand old tree, and very many of us find shelter in his shade".'

And yet another friend adds :

'His study was rather dark, but it was light enough when one got into talk with him there, and he never seemed to deny himself to any who needed him.'

[1] The illustration shows part of his room.

Allnutt's extreme simplicity of life was an asset to him in his work. 'On his tours he was content to travel in the plainest style. He could take very simple Indian food, so could remain in a village with the least possible encumbrance in the way of luggage. He was even able to smoke the Indian *hugga*!' Allnutt was always a heavy smoker. On his holidays in England at any rate at all moments of leisure the pipe would come out. At such times he liked to 'laze' with his long legs on at least one chair—sometimes two! A word as to his personal appearance, which the present writer is not good at describing. I should say that Scott Allnutt as a young man was decidedly good-looking and all through his life he had a most pleasing face, but later his 'goatee' beard spoilt his appearance, and his spectacles always seemed somehow rather unnecessarily prominent; latterly he was somewhat gaunt. Generally speaking, he looked in later life the Anglo-Indian down to the ground. His height was over six feet. His voice was an exceedingly pleasant one in conversation. He was emphatically a poor public speaker as far as manner and delivery are concerned; his matter, it need hardly be said, was always excellent. So as a preacher his manner was not arresting unless one set oneself steadily to listen. His sermons that I heard were apt to be delivered in a somewhat high monotone. I should hardly have called Allnutt 'a good preacher,' using the phrase in the usual sense, but Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton, who is a good judge, writes:

'In his prime Allnutt was a very thoughtful and forceful preacher. I still remember two sermons that he preached: one at Simla for the mission on "Sitting,

THE HEAD OF THE MISSION IN HIS STUDY

Clothed and in his Right Mind" ; the other at a meeting of the Diocesan Conference on "So We Built the Wall." The two themes well illustrate the tone of his missionary life on both sides, the evangelistic and the pastoral.'

And a leading European resident of Delhi used to emphasise how much Allnutt's sermons lost by his lack of effective delivery, and how well worth it was getting hold of them in manuscript and reading them. And to read a sermon in manuscript is, one might add, a very fair proof of appreciation!

But Allnutt's most prominent characteristic without doubt was his love of truth and his persistently honest search after it, coupled with his love of books. Some of our readers may remember Dean Church's words about Truth[1]:

'Those who undertake to woo Truth . . . must not think it strange, if for that Divine Bride they have to serve the seven years, and then the seven years more.' And Allnutt was content so to serve if need be. Moreover while with some men you feel that somehow or other they will reach the conclusions they want to reach, you never felt that with Allnutt. You were sure that however much his heart was set upon a conclusion he would never reach it unless truth and honesty of thought and heart led him there. I will collect together a few sentences from the reminiscences of his friends bearing upon the intellectual side of Allnutt's character.

Mr. R. Maconachie:

'I can see him now at any time I give myself a quiet minute or two, lying at his long length in an

[1] *Human Life and Its Conditions*, p. 92.

Austrian bent-wood chair and resting very comfortably, spectacles on nose, and gazing at us with his friendly intentness while in his deliberate manner he evolves his opinion on some one of the hundred matters of joint interest we both delighted to discuss. For give and take it was—we both upheld our opinions keenly—but there was to me the constant pleasure of watching, ever and again, how *fair* my friend's mind was, how utterly scornful of making any false point in argument, and how candidly he would own up if any point really made against him.'

Mr. Hibbert-Ware:

'Perhaps the thing that would most strike a stranger about Allnutt after his extreme simplicity of life was his scholarly taste. He had a great liking for expressive words, and would draw freely on any language that he knew for the word he wanted. I remember it being a matter of debate whether he could write a passage of English without a word or a phrase from a foreign tongue! In the same way it was always said of his Urdu that it was "high-flown"; it would contain phrases from the classical languages on which Urdu draws that were not always easy for the less educated Indians themselves. Perhaps I may be forgiven a personal observation. I remember remarking to a friend who, as Chaplain and Archdeacon, had often been a guest at the Brotherhood table, that the conversation I had heard at the high table at several of the Colleges at Cambridge by no means had the advantage over that we used to hear in the Brotherhood circle in Delhi in his time; and he thought this was very likely indeed.'

Mr. Kelly :

'He was a voracious reader, and had the faculty of tearing the vitals from the most abstruse philosophical works at the first reading and assimilating their contents.'

The usual level of Allnutt's stiff reading may be gauged by his piteous remark (which the reader may remember) that the six months' entire rest which he was ordered involved 'living mentally at magazine level'.

Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton speaks of the width and continuity of Allnutt's reading and the open mind which he combined with a clear and definite judgment in essentials. He adds: 'The Indian Christians had a high opinion, and rightly, of the purity of Allnutt's English style, and if anything was to be drawn up in the way of statement or argument they were pretty sure to ask Allnutt Sahib to check it or do it altogether.'

In light reading Allnutt's taste was certainly not for 'problem novels,' but good fiction of other kinds he liked, and he read a good deal of it in his holidays. He loved Kipling, especially the jungle books. John Inglesant was also a favourite. I should think Tennyson and Browning stood first with him for modern poetry. Milton, he sometimes quotes in his letters, especially the line—

'They also serve who only stand and wait.'

Allnutt's intimacy with and personal knowledge of individuals among the Indians has been often alluded to in the preceding pages. It may certainly be termed a characteristic.

Dr. Dorothy Scott says:

'I have a very lively recollection of his delightful presence. He was always so full of fun and jokes, all the more amusing as they were often against himself. He had a very retentive memory, and knew the family history past, present, and sometimes even future of nearly every Christian in Delhi. He was beloved by them, and was indeed in many senses their "father and mother" as they used to love to call him. His time, brain, love, and purse, were always at their disposal and they did not scruple to use all four!'

And Dr. Weitbrecht Stanton says:

'A family man myself, I used to feel that an ideal father had been lost when Allnutt joined a celibate brotherhood, but this and his other qualities made him a father to his Indian flock and indeed to the whole mission as very few men have been. The blind maulawi, Ahmad Masih, talking to me about some household troubles on which he had consulted Allnutt, remarked: I said to him: "Sahib, the marriages are ours, but the children are yours."'

Mr. Hibbert-Ware, mentioning this characteristic, leads on to another, viz. his special friendships with many of the English officials:

'Few Englishmen could boast of such intimate relations with Indians, which was the more noteworthy, because he never, as some men have done, tried to make himself seem nearer to them by dropping his English habits and living in an Indian style.

'What is surprising is that the other class with whom he seemed to have special friendships was that of the English officials. It was very noticeable how many

of the ablest of the civilians, including some who made their way to the very top of the tree (for several Lieutenant-Governors were his personal friends), he seemed to be on terms of more than usual intimacy with. I suppose it was that so intellectual a class would feel a sense of kinship with a real scholar whose tastes nevertheless were in nearly all other matters so different from theirs.'

And another of his friends also notes this characteristic and adds :

'He was the lifelong friend of many of his old pupils, numbers of whom sought his counsel long after they had left college. And similarly not a few British officers, some of them high in the service of the Indian Government, in various ways gave their help to the Delhi Mission largely because of their regard for and confidence in him.'

Allnutt's readiness as head of the mission to enter into the feelings and appreciate the point of view of the younger men is a trait in his character which has already been touched on. Canon F. C. Hayes,[1] who stayed for a time at the Mission House, says :

'What impressed me as an outsider during all these months of intimacy with these men was the catholicity of Allnutt as a head, how he, an older conservative Churchman, made allowances for those younger men where he found it hard to sympathize and secured their co-operation in their common devotion for the Community—hence the wonderful work accomplished.'

[1] Father of Dr. Marie Hayes. See the touching memoir entitled *At Work*. Marshall Brothers, 1909.

And one of the lady-workers, writing to Miss Allnutt, says :

'I should like just to tell you what has been a constant cause of admiration to us of late ; it has been his wonderful humility and self-effacement, allowing himself more and more to be set aside in order that the Indian clergy and younger workers may work out their ideas and plans.

Only a few days before he left us, I was marvelling at it in my mind and thinking " this is the perfecting of his character ".'

At the same time it should be mentioned that there were some among the mission staff who found Allnutt at times at least difficult to work with. It is seldom, if ever, that a strong man with very definite opinions can get on with every one at every time.

It should also in fairness be noted that one among the many who have sent me reminiscences considered that there were times when Allnutt appeared unsympathetic with his brother-workers' different standpoints. He says :

'When once he saw the need Allnutt was wonderfully sympathetic, but I found that he was so full of his own work and problems and had such decided views that he found it very difficult to get sufficiently interested in others' points of view.'

From the same correspondent I gather that (in his opinion) the younger men were latterly a little impatient with Allnutt's conservatism.

All this seems curiously at variance with the wealth of testimony of an opposite character, but it only shows how things strike people differently.

I think the note of Mr. F. F. Monk (one of the younger members of the Brotherhood) upon this subject helps to melt into unity these seemingly opposite views. He says :

'It is perfectly true that Allnutt did appear unsympathetic with his brother-workers' different standpoints—*to start with.* The marvel is that he did not stop there, considering his age, his tastes, his position, and above all the conservatism and aversion to change that so inevitably creeps over the European long engaged in work with "natives". I write with special knowledge and feeling, because we, of the college staff, ourselves too often unsympathetic, seldom came to the monthly Mission Councils as less than revolutionaries. . . . Allnutt would oppose instinctively at first. . . . We would get our own way ultimately—or most of it—and might reasonably have expected to find little more than a grudging concession to the new ideas. . . . What we would actually find next time the subject arose in conversation with him would be a whole-hearted acceptance of the situation, going far beyond a mere passive acquiescence in the new ideas, and even extending at times to application of them we had ourselves not yet thought of. Looking back now one can see what an immense loss we have suffered in no longer having that initial opposition to test and try the new ideas, not by the light of mere judicious cautiousness, but with all the weight of his ever "human" wisdom and experience.'

It should be added that the correspondent, who considered Allnutt sometimes wanting in sympathy, was personally devoted to him, and speaks of him in the

highest terms; also that he was one who knew the mission well.

Though the following words of Mr. Hibbert-Ware refer chiefly to Allnutt's relationship with his Indian brethren, they may appropriately be quoted here:

'To the Christians of the congregation of St. Stephen's Church, old and young, his relation can only be described as that of a "father". He was never called (in the formal sense) "Father Allnutt" among the European community; only humourously by one of the chaplains who lived with the Brotherhood for the whole of one hot weather; but the word fitted him exactly. No one of the newer generation could possibly take the position that he had with regard to the Indian congregation. There was a great deal of the old-fashioned autocracy about it, which is now out of fashion, but it was perfectly natural to him and to them. There was a good deal of that, too, about his relation to the women's "Community of St. Stephen," which was really taking shape about the time that he became head of the mission, and which grew up under his charge into the organization that it now is. It was one of the proofs of his wise and kindly rule that, at the close of his life, the community entered so naturally upon its developed stage of "self-determination".'

The Rev. F. J. Western, the present head of the mission, writes:

'A wonderfully complete selflessness is one of the dominant impressions left on me by the years of life with him. Always giving himself fully, putting his best pains into every sermon or little address or lesson, doing every bit of work as thoroughly as he could, never com-

plaining or objecting to the continual toil of people coming to his room, though the strain showed itself somewhat in later years by a certain irritableness when he was tired.'

One of the lady-workers writes:

'There was one of Canon Allnutt's letters which I kept because it revealed his wonderful humility and readiness to acknowledge himself in the wrong. He had listened to a grumble from a Christian servant in my employment and wrote to me rather strongly and hastily on the subject. I let him know that I was hurt by his taking the man's side without asking mine, and he hastened to send me this beautiful apology in the midst of the Brotherhood Retreat, which touched me very much. I never knew any man who so combined perfect Christian lowliness and humility with upholding the dignity and "magnifying his office". Another reminiscence which I treasure in memory is his kindness to me at a time when I had broken down in health and nerve, and he came out from Simla to see me, and broke to me his conviction (mercifully not verified) that I should not be able to remain in India. I was much depressed with this and wrote him a very sad letter that evening speaking of myself as a failure. The next morning I met him in my rickshaw on my way back to Simla, and he stopped me and reminded me in the tenderest tones and with tears in his eyes of the Psalmist's words which he said that Bishop Bickersteth of Japan had given to him as a motto in life "Fret not thyself".'

The affection of all his fellow-workers for Allnutt seems unanimous.

The male part of the Community usually speak of him as 'dear old Allnutt' or the 'dear old man'.

Mr. F. F. Monk draws a pleasing picture in a few lines. He speaks of 'that gaunt lovable old figure (he always reminded me of the Lana in Kipling's "Kim") trundling along the dusty road on his tricycle, or presiding at the Mission Council in the big Brotherhood library, or (rarer but more cherished picture) "spreading himself" in a comfortable chair in our drawing-room and enjoying a civilized tea or talk with all that old-world courtesy and culture that his asceticisms could never obscure.'

The side of Scott Allnutt's character turned towards his relations at home was naturally chiefly that summed up by the word 'domestic'. We did not see him at work, though he was always nibbling, so to say, at work, and writing innumerable letters. He always stayed with us, as with most of his relations, during his furloughs, and we saw him in his own home; indeed we saw all we could of him.

To us he was always the most delightful and sympathetic of cousins, the most easy and charming of companions, thoroughly enjoying the simplest pleasures like a boy, ready to advise when we asked his advice, and you were sure of getting his full attention as you unfolded your story.

Agreeably to the proverb of the prophet in his own country, I at any rate had no adequate idea, for many years, of the great work he was accomplishing in the East. Two small points first opened my eyes to the elements of greatness in Scott. One was the masterly way in which he settled some family difficulties at the Cape, all *en route* for home, and with all the burden of his work

only just left behind; and the other was the discovery that he knew all about the latest books and had apparently read most of them.

I will end this chapter with the concluding words of Canon B. K. Cunningham's recollections, 'I can never be sufficiently thankful for the lessons he taught by his life and example, for his devotion to duty, his loyalty to truth from whatever quarter it came, and for the strong restrained love of a very great servant of Christ.'

CHAPTER VIII

THE SUDDEN CALL

It was a mighty harvest. That which is sown in the people's heart bears a thousandfold at last.

H. SETON MERRIMAN,
The Sowers—Ch. xlvii.

The call Home for Samuel Scott Allnutt came suddenly on December 7, 1917.

Modern biographers usually dismiss the death and burial of the person concerned very briefly—sometimes in some half-a-dozen lines. I cannot in this case be quite so brief as that, even if I wished to be, because the affection and grief evoked throughout Delhi by Allnutt's sudden death, and at the time of the funeral, were so spontaneous and remarkable as to form a sort of incident of his life, and one which brought his life and work for the moment at least before the ordinary outsider who knows little and cares less for missions. It was a mighty harvest of affection and love.

The following letter gives graphically the particulars of Allnutt's last hours, death and funeral. It is from Miss Gorham, one of the mission workers.

St. Stephen's Hospital,
Delhi,
December 9, 1917.

My dear Miss Allnutt,

Others will no doubt have written you details, but I feel that one ought to tell you everything that one can about the wonderfully beautiful Home-going of our dear spiritual Father. We feel it was all ordered just as he would himself have wished and, amid all our tears, we cannot but thank God again and again for his sake. But oh! how we shall miss him, and how the whole mission is mourning. 'We shall never have *such* a Padre and Father again' is the universal lament. No one ever went to him for help—either material or spiritual—in vain.

He had seemed so well and bright lately. Even on Thursday up till bed-time. That afternoon he went to see Eunice, a girl whom he had known and petted from babyhood, who was suffering from fever. She is to be married at Christmas if well enough, and perhaps for that reason he put his hands on her head and gave her his blessing. It will be a treasured memory for her.

On Friday morning he told Mr. Western that he had an attack of pain in the night, and the Civil Surgeon, Col. James, was sent for. (It is rumoured that he remarked that he had had a similar spasm at Gurgaon the preceding Sunday, but as he had preached a forty-minute sermon soon after, it cannot have been very bad!)

Col. James gave no cause for alarm apparently—told him to keep in bed that day—he saw a few people, among others, one who had been suspended from Communion, with whom he had a long and earnest talk from 11 to 12 o'clock, and who is much affected by his loss. At 2.45 the Brethren had their usual mid-day intercessions, and Canon Allnutt had the door open which communicates from his room into the chapel, and he joined with them audibly in the office. Those Friday intercessions for Mahommedans, Hindus, etc., were (he once told me) the ones he liked best of all in the book, and it is beautiful to think they were his last words on earth. (I feel sure he continues them in Paradise.)

The Brethren then left him for lunch, and the Bearer took a tray to the Canon, but came running back almost immediately to say he was worse.

Mr. Western and Mr. Tilt were with him at once, but he was unconscious and the pain could not have been more than momentary—they gave him brandy but doubted if he swallowed any.

Mr. Western raced off for the doctor. Col. James being out he came here and Dr. Dorothy Scott raced off like the wind, but it was over before she arrived. She returned at once to fetch our two hospital sisters to perform the last offices.

One is glad to think that it was our Community members who were the ones to do all they could—and the Cambridge brothers with him at the last. They found him looking most peaceful, the eyes firmly closed of their own accord. They robed him in surplice and white stole and he was laid in the little House-Chapel until the following morning when he was carried into

church after the celebration, the bier was placed in front of the altar and the people were allowed to come all the morning for a last look at the beloved face.

Mr. Carlyon arrived by a midnight train from Rohtak and celebrated at 8 a.m. next morning. The church was full, there must have been over 100 communicants.

The burial service began at 3 p.m., the enclosed cutting gives some details, it was all as simple as we knew he would have wished, but most impressive; instead of taking the usual route to the cemetery, round outside the city walls, the procession passed right through the streets of the city, and the reverence and quietness of the crowd was *wonderful*—would have done credit to any English street crowd. The traffic was all held up for two hours and not a sound was heard as we passed on foot, for over a mile of crowded bazaars—the brass procession Cross carried high in front all the way. It has only *once* been carried through the streets before, for fear of insult—but yesterday the whole city seemed to sympathize—there were numerous Hindus and Mahommedans present in the church and followed the whole two miles to the cemetery.

Mr. Ghose gave a nice little address at the graveside. The hymn 'Jesus Lives!' was sung (in Urdu of course) and Mr. Carlyon officiated.

The boys of the Gurgaon Industrial School, in which he took a deep interest, threw the earth into the grave and he rests in the midst of his own spiritual children.

It was singular that the new Pall which was just being made, having been much needed for some time, was *just* finished—the last stitches being put in that morning by Miss Gould's loving fingers.

I have dwelt upon our own grief—but took up my pen to sympathize rather with *yours*, for I can guess how you will feel his loss. I expect you must have been looking forward to the time when he would have to leave India and settle down in England—but indeed we are thankful that he is spared what would have been a very big wrench, if he had had to sever his connection with Delhi.

I pray that this thought may comfort you. One seems almost to hear the songs of welcome and the 'Well done' of the Master.

Believe me, dear Miss Allnutt,
Yours affectionately,
MARY GORHAM.

It was all very unexpected. As the reader will remember Allnutt had felt particularly 'fit' just at that time.

Only three days before his death he had preached a sermon on the text 2 St. Peter iii. 12, 'Looking for and hastening unto the coming of the Day of God'. It was an old sermon with certain additions put in, but it was striking that the text should be *that* text.

Various members of the mission staff add particulars.

Rev. H. C. Carlyon.[1]

'His heart must have been weak without his realizing it, though I had noticed that he had begun to lie down more than he had ever done in previous years. . . .

[1] The Rev. H. C. Carlyon did not long survive Allnutt. He died on April 6, 1919.

And thus, the three, Lefroy, Allnutt, and Carlyon, who had practically joined the mission together, passed away within a few months of each other—in their deaths hardly divided.

It appears that during Thursday night he was troubled with pain affecting his heart and so did not get up, and the Civil Surgeon was called in to see him. He pronounced his heart very weak and ordered him to take complete rest for a few days. . . .'

Allnutt did not himself expect the end so soon. One of the ladies writes: 'Only a few minutes before he died, he had remarked to Mr. Tilt, "The Doctor says I shall have to be careful, but he tells me there is, as far as he can tell, no danger".'

From another of the lady workers:

'I was the last of our Community to see him alive. He was in bed and I asked Mr. Western if I might go and cheer him up, and Mr. Western conducted me to his room, but he was asleep. His sleep looked so exactly like death that I got a great shock. . . . Only an hour after that, or a little more, he seemed quite bright. . . . And a quarter of an hour later he had gone. . . . The day before he came in to this Home, and stood talking to us, and making a number of jokes and went laughing away. . . . His funeral was a tremendous affair. . . . All traffic was stopped by the Commissioner and the streets clear. We went right through the town to the further gate of the city. It was a wonderfully solemn procession and orderly! I think it must have impressed the non-Christians very much. There were a very great many of non-Christians who had known and loved him. I suppose no man has ever been to Delhi what Canon Allnutt was. . . . He is missed at every turn, for he just knew every one and all about them and the great cry of every one was: "Our father has gone, what shall we do"?.'

The following letter from Dr. Percy Dearmer was his reply to my request that he would give me his impressions of Allnutt. Dr. Dearmer was working for a short time at the mission and was in Delhi in December, 1917.

'I was in Delhi when Mr. Allnutt died, and I had the privilege of working with him and of serving on the Mission Committee with him for some months before that death which came so sweetly for him, so suddenly for us. What struck me most was the paternal relation that had grown up between him and the people of the city.

'At his funeral a great crowd blocked the street, and men clambered up the walls and followed the service from outside the windows. There were few citizens of any standing in Delhi who had not been educated by him, whether they still called themselves Hindus or Mahommedans or not. These men all looked up to him as a man who had brought them into the paths of knowledge, because he cared for them, and they knew that it was his religion that had first made him care. What stronger testimony could there be than this universal regard? What better evidence of deep and far-reaching work? Delhi knew that he loved Delhi, every one knew that he belonged to the city, and that no inducement of worldly advantage would draw him from it. And Delhi loved him.'

The records of personal love and personal loss are also very touching, especially those from his Indian friends.

In the course of a letter to Miss Allnutt, Miss Gorham says:

'It was a very striking testimony of his more than popularity how the Indian people claimed him as

especially *their* Pastor; for instance, the Bible-woman, who has not only to teach, but to control the restless crowd in the Hospital Dispensary waiting rooms and marshal them into the consulting room in their proper turns, never turned up that Saturday morning, which means a very heavy extra burden on my shoulders. When I remonstrated with her for absenting herself she said with surprise "But I was in grief". "Well," I replied, "don't you think the Doctor and I were in grief too, but we could not close the Dispensary to nurse our great sorrow". She answered "Oh! but you are quite different. *You* are English, and Canon Allnutt belonged to us Indians, he was our *Father*!".'

From one learn all. We need not multiply instances. This attitude is typical of the feeling of his Indian friends for him everywhere.

It was felt by all his friends that Allnutt was happy in the time and manner of his death.

One friend writes:

'How happy for him! dying at his post in the midst of his work, and with no long period of pain (it might be) or weakness, laid by from the work he loved.' And this was the feeling of all his friends. We know from his letters how anxiously Allnutt waited for signs of the Guiding Hand as to the time of his resignation and as to his own future, and it is clear that he somewhat dreaded beginning new work at home after a long life-work of so intensely special a character, and, at the same time, had he stayed in Delhi, there would have been the awkwardness, which can never entirely be got over, of occupying a subordinate position where he had ruled for so long. All this anxiety he was spared by

the suddenness of his call to rest. At the time of Allnutt's death some anonymous friend wrote the following words in a letter to one of the Church papers, and I think the quotation from Matthew Arnold's "Rugby Chapel" fits him very well and I cannot find better words with which to conclude this memoir.

'There is no room for regret. He has died as he lived, with Delhi written on his heart. He put his hand to the plough and never looked back. And now he has the reward ascribed to another true-hearted hero:

> To thee it was given
> Many to save with thyself,
> And, at the end of the day,
> O faithful shepherd, to come
> Bringing thy sheep in thy hand.'

EPILOGUE

IF, as it has been said, 'India needs the deaths of her missionaries as well as their lives,' it is as an inspiration to others that she needs those deaths.

If it is true that 'God buries his workmen, but carries on His work,' it is partly at least by the silent appeal of those 'buried workmen' to others to follow up and take their places in the ranks that the work is carried on. And so of Allnutt, as of many others, 'He being dead yet speaketh'.

What one of the mid-Victorian age could accomplish, surely the new Georgian era, with all its powers quickened and disciplined by the years of war, will not shrink from.

New Delhi, now in process of building, is a symbol of the new and enlarged life which will be the natural

concomitant of the Imperial City. Delhi is now having a University of its own, in which Cambridge should permanently and strongly continue to give the help in higher education which is so much appreciated. It is recognized also by all leaders of Indian thought that the education of women, and the general uplift of the lower castes are two of the most essential factors in the growth of the nation. In both of these spheres previous chapters have shown what the Cambridge Mission has done in the past; in the future opportunities for service in India will continually grow. And while even before Allnutt's death the Church in Delhi was markedly progressing towards self-maintenance and independence, the rapidly growing church in the villages will, for many years, need help and guidance, and both city and villages will ask for the help of the Western Church in the education of their children.

To you, at Home, at Cambridge, and elsewhere, Christian men and women of faith, surely to some of you in the strength of your youth, the missionary call must come as it came to the subject of this memoir. And to you, his many friends of Indian races—who will be perhaps among the most interested readers of the record of your friend who drew you Christward—surely to some of you also the missionary call comes to take up his work, and, if you should do so, how that would rejoice his heart!

Such a life as that of Samuel Scott Allnutt, as of many another, is as a BECKONING HAND, SIGNIFYING 'COME'!

THE END

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